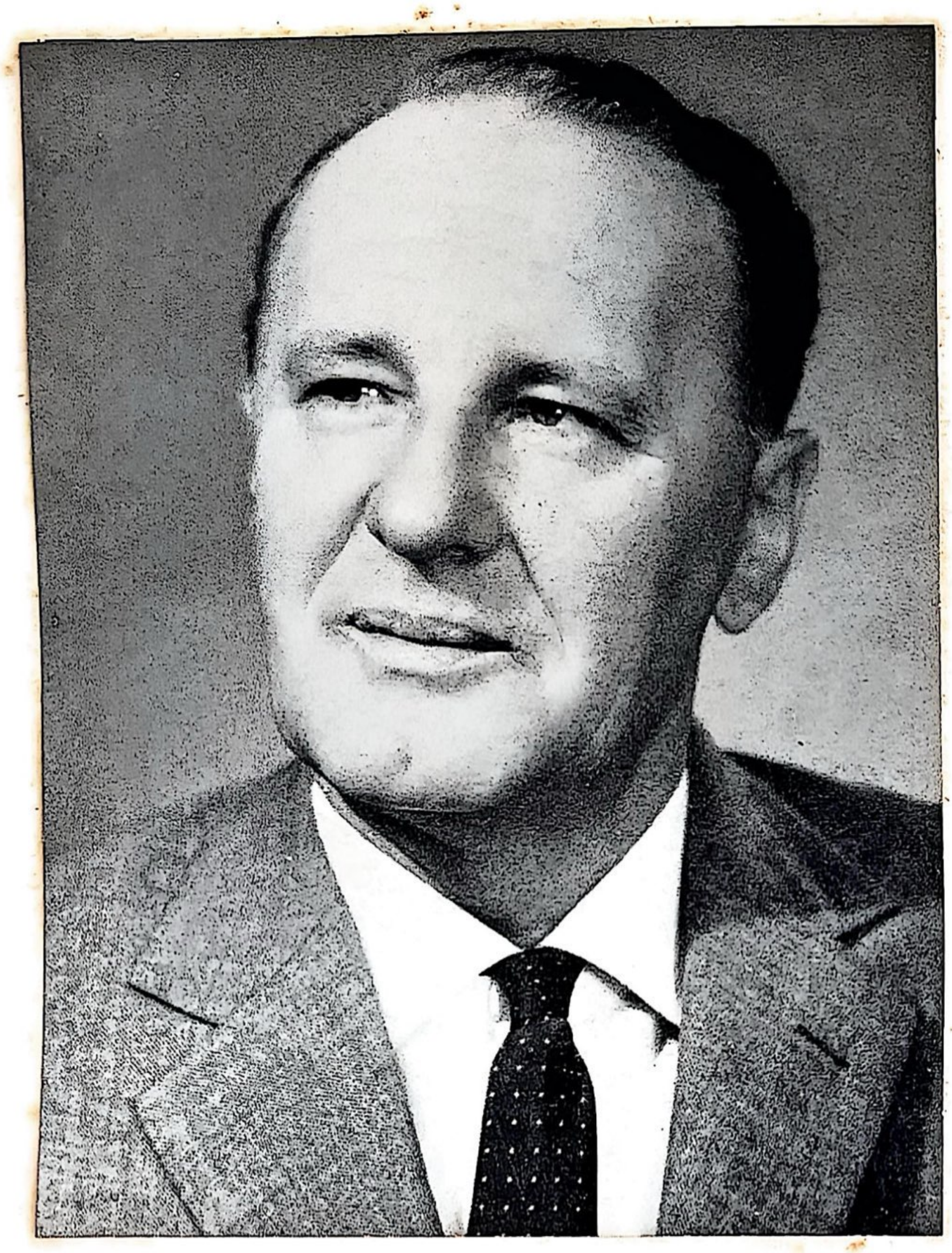
Kádár

On the Road
to
Socialism

ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM



Rudolf Hess

JÁNOS KÁDÁR

ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

SELECTED SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS

1960—1964

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JÁNOS KÁDÁR (b. 1912), First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic (from November, 1956 until January, 1958, Chairman of the Council of Ministers; from January, 1958 until September, 1961, Minister of State, and from September, 1961, until June, 1965, Chairman of the Council of Ministers), and Member of the National Assembly.

Born of working-class parents, János Kádár began to work in early childhood, first in agriculture, then as an unskilled labourer and later as a toolmaker. He joined the working-class movement at the age of 17. He participated in the big demonstration held in Budapest on September 1, 1930, was an organizer of the communist young workers' movement and in 1931 a member of the Central Committee of the Young Communist Workers' League of Hungary. In the same year he became a member of the underground Communist Party. Beginning with 1931 he was under constant surveillance by the Horthyite police; he was arrested on several occasions and sentenced for shorter or longer terms in prison (in 1935 for two years).

During the Second World War, from May, 1942, János Kádár was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary and in 1943, he became Secretary of the Party which was, of course, still illegal at the time. He had a leading role in organizing the anti-fascist independence movement. Arrested in April, 1944, he managed to escape and, beginning with November, 1944, participated again in the organization of the anti-nazi resistance movement. After Liberation he was elected a member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party. He was a member of the Provisional National Assembly. Up to May, 1945, he was active in the organization of the democratic police of Budapest, and for a while headed the cadre department of the Central Committee.

From May, 1945, until August, 1948, János Kádár was the Secretary of the Budapest Party Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party. In October, 1946, the Third Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party and in June, 1948, the First Congress of the Hungarian Working People's Party elected him Deputy General Secretary of the Party. In 1948, he was appointed Minister of the Interior. In 1951, he was arrested under false charges.

After his rehabilitation he was the First Secretary of the Party Committee of District XIII of Budapest and later of the Party Committee of Pest County (1954–1956). In July, 1956, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party coopted him into its membership, the Political Committee electing him as one of its members and the Central Committee as one of its secretaries. In the struggle for defeating the counter-revolution of 1956 it was under János Kádár's leadership that the new Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government were formed. As First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, he directed the work of consolidation following the counter-revolution.

At the Party Conference of June, 1957 and at the Seventh Congress of the Party held in November, 1959, János Kádár gave the report of the Central Committee. At the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November, 1957 and in November, 1960, he headed the delegations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

In June, 1965, on the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, János Kádár was relieved of his post as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers in order that he could devote all his energies to his function as First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee.

SPEECH AT THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF HUNGARY'S LIBERATION

April 3, 1960

Dear Comrades, Friends,

A new chapter in our history opened fifteen years ago, when the Soviet Army drove the last Hitler-fascist occupation forces from Hungarian soil. Thus, our national independence was restored to us after centuries, and the road to freedom was open to the Hungarian people. This day became our greatest national holiday and will remain so, as long as there are Hungarians on the face of the earth.

Our people celebrate this great day of our liberation with a feeling of satisfaction with the present and confidence in the future. The host of fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, China, of all the socialist countries and many millions of friends the world over share our joy and join us in celebrating. On this festive occasion our party and government extend warm greetings to Hungarian workers, peasants and intellectuals, to our compatriots, to the fraternal peoples, and to all friends beyond our country's borders.

The life of our people was hard and fraught with struggle until that early morning in April when the long awaited day of liberation dawned. Centuries of bitter struggle had gone before, struggle waged by the sons and daughters of the Hungarian people, by ardent patriots, by peasants rebelling against their inhuman lot, by enlightened citizens, and last but not least by the best organized force, the sons of the working class, the conscious and unflinching fighters for the socialist idea.

The fighters for freedom under the banners of Dózsa, Rákóczi, Kossuth and the Hungarian Republic of Councils waged a selfless and

heroic struggle. The communists carried on the battle under the twenty-five years of Horthy tyranny. They fought both at home and abroad—including the battlefields of Spain—during the years of Hitler fascism. The Hungarian working class gave thousands of heroes and martyrs for the liberation of their people and homeland, for socialism.

Yet, only our present generation can rightfully state that a new era has dawned; the arrogant lords, the exploiters of the people and the fascists have met their doom and now belong to the scrap-heap of history for all time.

The once downtrodden, dispossessed and despised Hungarian people became the nation; in possession of freedom they became the master in their own country. The red, white and green tricolour and the red flag wave proudly in the land of the free, in our vigorous Hungarian People's Republic.

Freedom was won in struggle, in the tide of fire and blood of the Second World War. The traitorous capitalist-landowning class, the Horthyite counter-revolutionary system and the arrow-cross hordes had delivered Hungary to the Hitler-fascists, whom they served until the very end.

During the Second World War the patriotic antifascist forces, organized and led by the communists, waged a self-sacrificing struggle. Yet, our people were not able, by their own efforts, to cast off the yoke of the Hitler-fascist conquerors in league with the Horthyites. At the brink of catastrophe, however, the Hungarian people, faced with national annihilation, found the helping hand of a mighty and unselfish friend. The Hungarian people were liberated in 1945 from the grip of Hitler fascism and were saved from destruction by the sons of the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the Soviet Union founded by the great Lenin, and by the glorious Soviet Armv. This is why the Hungarian people feel everlasting gratitude to the liberating Soviet Union.

In all parts of Hungary one can find the graves of Soviet soldiers. Heroes are at rest in these graves, Soviet fighters who made the supreme sacrifice for the liberation of our people. We pay homage to them and swear that the flowers of gratitude shall never wither on their graves.

On the great Russian steppes, in the Ukraine, in every nook and

corner of the Soviet Union, one can meet thousands of Soviet people who fought and shed their blood in Hungary for the freedom of our people. Many Soviet mothers mourn sons who fell in battle on Hungarian soil while fighting the fascist beast. These days we recall the heroes and express our everlasting gratitude for their sacrifice.

We also pay homage to those Rumanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav soldiers who gave their lives on the battlefields of Hungary, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army for the freedom of our people. We also express our deep respect to the youth of Britain, America and other countries who lost their lives in the fight against the Hitler-fascists and who rest on Hungarian soil.

Our people can pay the most fitting tribute to the memory of those who died for our liberation, by safeguarding our freedom, our country's independence and socialist achievements, by continuing to build our new social system, thus proving that their sacrifices were not in vain.

Dear Comrades, Friends,

The rule of the aristocrats, landowners, industrialists and bankers bequeathed a dark legacy to the liberated Hungarian people. Half a million Hungarian lives wantonly sacrificed on the altar of the rapacious Hitler-fascist war, a devastated country—this was their heritage. The Hungarian ruling class, in their blind hatred and fear of the Soviet Union, supported Hitler to the bitter end, and turned the country into a battlefield. Half the country's industrial wealth was destroyed, half the livestock carted away, all the bridges dynamited, and 90 per cent of the railway stock and road vehicles were destroyed or taken out of the country.

For three years after Liberation all the efforts and creative energy of the people were devoted to clearing away the ruins of war and to getting production and transport started again, that is, starting to live again. Our people, led by the working class, struggling against privations and tremendous hardships, did a truly heroic job. Three years of strenuous work put the factories back into operation, rebuilt the bridges and made the fields green again with crops. Labour had to be linked with struggle. The Hungarian people, following the leadership of the Communist Party, defeated political reaction step by step, broke up the large feudal estates, broke the back of capitalist economic sabo-

tage, and nationalized the most important means of production. And, what is of paramount importance, through struggle the working class in alliance with the peasantry achieved power, achieved the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Following the establishment of absolute working-class power, the rapid development of class relationships and the period of building socialism began in 1948. Unfortunately, the advance from 1948 to our days was not unbroken. As a result of the personality cult serious mistakes were committed in the course of years; the political, moral and economic ravages of the counter-revolution of 1956 proved especially harmful.

But the strength of the Hungarian people's democracy, as correctly pointed out by the Seventh Congress of our party, overcame all difficulties. The fifteen years which have elapsed since Liberation—including the twelve-year period of socialist construction—were in the long run a historic period of tremendous advance in the life of the people and the country. The many-sided and direct support of the Soviet Union, which we have enjoyed from the first days of our liberation, and the assistance of the entire socialist camp have played a decisive role in the successes of our people and in safeguarding our socialist achievements.

There is no single factory in the country which has failed to show significant progress since Liberation. Over one hundred large new socialist industrial projects were built, including entire towns, like Dunaújváros, Komló, and a number of others. Our industrial output is three and a half times higher than before, while agricultural production has gone up by 20 per cent. The national income nearly doubled during the last ten years. The country has been swept by a mighty cultural revolution, which is still continuing with undiminished energy. Illiteracy has ceased to be a national problem. Four times as many youngsters attend secondary school as before Liberation, while the number of university students has risen threefold. Theatre, opera and cinema audiences have increased several times, as has the number of radio subscribers. The number of TV owners is rising rapidly. More than two thousand cultural centres and thousands of public libraries pinpoint the onward sweep of culture.

As far as the trend in the living standards of the working people is

concerned, fortunately there is no need to present a wealth of data; everyone can see that people in town and countryside alike are properly fed, well dressed and live comfortably.

Let us give but one illustration of the great change as compared to the past:

In 1938, the per capita annual income of workers, farm labourers, servants on big estates, hired men and employees averaged 5,800 present-day forints, if we multiply their income in pengős by ten. This was one of the reasons why Hungary was called a country of "three million beggars." Let us compare these 5,800 forints with the takings of some of the big "earners": Milenkó Nagykovácsi, capitalist, declared an income of 10,000,000 forints in his tax form; Duke György Festetics 7,900,000 forints; Jenő Dréher, industrialist, 6,500,000; Ferenc Chorin, capitalist, 6,200,000; Baron Alfonz Weiss, capitalist, 4,800,000, and Archduke Joseph 4,400,000 forints.

There are no dukes, barons, capitalists or industrialists in the Hungarian People's Republic. Mammoth incomes derived from exploitation have vanished with them, and we maintain that this is how it should be.

The wealth produced at present belongs to the working people. The farm hand on the big estates no longer exists as a category; the three million beggars, together with unemployment, belong to the past. The per capita annual income of workers and employees averaged 5,800 forints in 1938; today it is three times as high: the per capita average income amounted to 19,200 forints in 1959.

The prerequisite for the systematic, continued rise of the living standards is the constant strengthening and development of our national economy and the increase of productivity. Once the ravages of the counter-revolution were overcome, our national economy again showed encouraging progress. The driving force of the advance was the growing socialist consciousness of the working people and the ever-broadening socialist emulation movement. An outstanding example of the socialist consciousness and patriotism of our working people is the socialist emulation organized in honour of our Party Congress; this is continuing this year, as a fitting celebration for the fifteenth anniversary of our liberation.

Labour emulation in honour of our congress achieved its objective: several major targets of our Three-Year Plan were reached by the end

of last year, one year ahead of schedule. The present objective of the emulation is to complete the Three-Year Plan this year, and to overfulfil it, especially in raising productivity, in economy in use of materials, in products manufactured for export, and in agricultural products.

The outstanding achievements in the socialist reorganization of agriculture play a major part in the development of our entire country, the building of a socialist society and the strengthening of our national economy. More than 70 per cent of the sowing area is farmed now collectively. Over two thirds of Hungary's villages—more than 2,200—are cooperative farm villages. All this means that the forces of socialism have gained a decisive superiority in the Hungarian countryside, too.

This great change among the masses of Hungarian peasantry can rightfully be called a new revolutionary victory for socialism. The decisive task now—which is also a necessity in the completion of the socialist transformation—is the political and economic strengthening of the new cooperative farms, and the development of really large-scale socialist farming.

The strengthening of the socialist elements in agriculture calls for the Hungarian peasantry to mobilize their own resources and to work diligently. This is also a responsibility of the entire Hungarian society, of the party, the guiding force of our society, and of the working class. It also demands considerable investments from the state. Some small-minded people and hostile propaganda organs demagogically chatter about "insurmountable difficulties" in connection with the socialist reorganization of agriculture and agricultural investments.

There are, of course, tasks to be solved, and at times these tasks are not easy. But we can, and will, solve them without exception. The tasks connected with the socialist reorganization of agriculture must be regarded both by our working class and our peasantry as assignments which have to be carried out sooner or later, but carried out they must be.

Solving the socialist reorganization of agriculture and achieving a significant development of agricultural production as a whole are the conditions for peasant prosperity, the development of the entire national economy, and a future rise in the living standards.

We succeeded in solving a series of tasks through the development and consolidation in 1959 and through the organization carried out last winter, so that we can say that the bigger and tougher part of the job is over. Another year or two of persistent work must follow, and then the hard work and large-scale investments in the achievement of socialist agriculture will bring increasing economic returns for our peasantry and our entire people.

Dear Comrades, Friends,

It would be a mistake for anyone to look upon the fifteen years since Liberation as a gay and grand parade. These fifteen years were a period of hard and selfless struggle and staunch work for the party, the working class and the entire people. But, above all, this was a period of outstanding achievements by our people and of building a prosperous country in place of capitalism and the devastation of war.

Capitalists, domestic and foreign, no longer have a voice or right in the affairs of the country. The factory, land, culture, right, power and the fruits of labour all belong to the people. We have an advanced industry and a developing agriculture of a decisively socialist character. The preparations for our new Five-Year Plan, which will ensure rational work and a flourishing life for our people, are nearing completion.

It would not be right, of course, for anyone to say that everything is fine and is moving smoothly. No, there are still many mistakes and weaknesses in our work. Our position would be still better and we could advance more rapidly if our higher leading bodies, the middle-level party and state bodies, and the working masses themselves could properly exploit all existing possibilities.

If we wish to draw the balance sheet of the fifteen years and put everything in its place, all we can say is that it was worth winning through the struggles of those fifteen years. The stress and strain, overcoming the difficulties were worth while. The idea of socialism is so strong that it cannot be crushed either by mistakes committed by us or by the blows inflicted by the enemy. Today socialism, cleansed of the mistakes and the mud slung by our enemies, shines brighter than ever; it is rooted deeper and firmer in the mind and heart of the Hungarian working people than ever before.

Our party and our working class have become richer in fighting

experience and stronger than before. Today the party and the people are united, and we can rightly look forward to still greater unity and cohesion in the future. Our entire people are more mature politically; their socialist consciousness is much higher than before.

This system, of course, cannot please everybody. The former workers of Baron Weiss who slaved for him at 38 fillérs per hour, the former farm hands of Festetics who had to live on a daily starvation wage of 80 fillérs, are pleased with the People's Republic and workers' power. Our system ensures them a decent human life, their sons may be army officers, their daughters doctors; they are the masters of the country.

Duke Festetics who had an annual income of almost eight million forints in the old days, and Baron Weiss whose yearly takings were four-and-a-half million forints, these former masters of the country, of course, dislike our people's democracy. Nor do the multimillionaire ammunition manufacturers of some of the western countries look upon it with favour. For their part they trumpet forth that there is no democracy in our country, but oppression and terror.

The truth is that for the time being there is only one kind of oppression here: our state suppresses all attempts at restoring the former exploiters. There is no terror in our country. It is a fact, however, that we defend our country against enemy attack.

The last time there was a reign of terror in Hungary was in 1956, from the last days of October until November 4; it was a white terror. We suppressed that terror, and democracy has again prevailed in Hungary since then.

It is true, our system meted out severe punishment to those primarily responsible for the counter-revolution and jailed people who did not want to respect our constitution and laws. But we extended pardon to many people three years ago, and to others somewhat later, and quite a few more were pardoned recently. Our system is strong enough to give a helping hand to those who failed, in order to make it possible for them, if they can, to find their way back to our people building socialism.

However, all concerned should also realize that our system will take a determined and energetic stand against those who wish to interfere with the peaceful work of construction of our people.

The essence of the profound humanism of our system is the determined defence of the vital interests of the working millions. In our view everything else is subordinated to this.

Our domestic policy, stemming from the policy of our party's Central Committee and the activities of the Patriotic People's Front, can be clearly understood by everybody.

Our goal is the building of socialism, and we strive to unite all patriotic forces behind this objective. Popular-national unity on these lines, led by the working class, is continuously gaining in strength and already rallies the overwhelming majority of the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

In line with our domestic objectives the aim of our foreign policy is the safeguarding of our national independence, our socialist achievements and peace for our people. For this reason we strive to live in peace and cooperation with all countries and peoples. We do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, but no outside power should try to direct the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. This must be understood even by the governments of the biggest and strongest western powers.

In the struggle between socialism and capitalism we are not, of course, neutral and never will be. We are fighting for socialism and support peaceful international competition between socialism and capitalism. We are certain that socialism will emerge victorious, and we wish to contribute to this victory to the best of our ability.

The Hungarian people stand for the ending of the cold war and the establishment of a lasting peace. The acceptance of the Soviet Union's proposals for general and complete disarmament by all countries would, in our opinion, serve the interests of the whole of mankind.

Our people look for results and agreement from the General Disarmament Treaty Commission meeting and sincerely desire that the delegates' discussions on banning nuclear tests will be crowned with success.

The good wishes of the Hungarian people accompanied Comrade Khrushchov on his journey to France, where he represented the will for peace of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, including Hungary. Together with all mankind the Hungarian people look with anticipation to the May conference of the Heads of Government of

the Four Big Powers. We wish success to this conference with the hope that it will bring solution nearer for the burning problems of mankind: disarmament, the German peace treaty and the peaceful solution of the West Berlin question.

In our desire for international relaxation we condemn the policy of the armament race and the continuation of the cold war. We consider West German sabre-rattling especially upsetting and revolting. The West German leaders, in our judgement, evaluate the situation wrongly; they fail to realize the peoples' strength and desire for peace.

The Hungarian people through their own sufferings came to know the plans for world domination of Kaiser Wilhelm and Adolf Hitler. Essentially, there is no difference between them and the "European calling of Germany" which is being advocated in Bonn now. In fact, Herr Oberländer and Herr Speidel are the same gentlemen they were during the period of Hitler's Third Reich. For this reason there is no sane person in Hungary, with any understanding of social problems, who would not repudiate sharply the revanchist strivings of West Germany.

The safeguarding of peace is the heartfelt desire of our people; this is a directive for our government and all our responsible leaders.

The Hungarian people can primarily thank the Soviet Union that they can live in independence, freedom and peace. The Soviet Union is our brother-in-arms and our mainstay and will continue to be so forever. On the anniversary of our liberation we greet our great ally, the Soviet Union, and the fighters of the Soviet Army who brought freedom to our people and are now defending our peace and the peace of all mankind.

The Soviet troops are temporarily in our land as our allied brothers-in-arms, but Soviet-Hungarian friendship is not temporary, it is eternal.

We are bound together with all the countries of the socialist camp by proletarian internationalism, by our common, socialist objective and by fruitful, many-sided cooperation.

We are convinced that the staunchest bastion of world peace at present is the existence of the socialist camp, its unity and strength; for this reason we consider the ceaseless enhancement of the unity of the socialist camp our permanent task.

Comrades,

On the fifteenth anniversary of our liberation every citizen of the Hungarian People's Republic faces the future with confidence. We shall overcome our remaining weaknesses and shall solve the problems still awaiting solution. The most important thing is the firm unity of the party and people, and the active support of the people for the party's policy. We are marching ahead with determination on the road of socialist construction. There will be no political reverses, capitalism has failed irrevocably in Hungary.

There are still many weighty problems awaiting solution in the international field, but the perspective is encouraging. The forces of peace are powerful and the hundreds of millions of human beings yearning for peace will gain the upper hand over the greed of the handful of war profiteers.

The party and the people, the entire socialist camp celebrate together on holidays, working shoulder to shoulder on weekdays. We shall continue to do this loyally, and if we do, a socialist Hungary will be built.

Long live the Hungarian working people!
Long live our beloved homeland, the Hungarian People's Republic!
Long live our liberator, the Soviet Union!
Long live the eternal Soviet-Hungarian friendship!
Long live and victory to socialism and peace!

SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE PRINTERS' UNION

March 16, 1962
(Excerpt)

Dear Comrades,

To begin with, let me thank you for the heartfelt, comradely welcome. I am very happy that my visit comes at a time when you are discussing the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of your union. This important stage in the life of your organization prompts me to dwell on some topical and some past questions. In my opinion this is necessary not only in order to draw the lessons and gain from experience, but also to present the position of our Central Committee in proper perspective.

The Printers' Union has also grown since Liberation. In my opinion the industrial form of organization was beneficial to the trade union. It is desirable that you should continue to gain in strength and that the entire membership should be imbued with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. My suggestion to workers who came in from other industrial branches is that they should follow the printers' example in how to cherish, build and strengthen the trade unions.

Let me give you some personal views concerning the printers. When in my youth I became a class-conscious trade unionist, a communist, I respected the printers for their high degree of organization. I was even somewhat envious of them, but this was also coupled with a certain resentment. This is how the majority of the organized workers felt towards the printers at that time. Compared to workers in other trades, the printers were in a far better economic position. The workers in other industries called the printers the "aristocrats of labour." There was something in this label, because the printers did not express

their pride in their high degree of organization by urging the workers of other crafts to follow suit and organize. To some extent the printers looked down upon the other workers. Although they won higher wages and in this respect were in a far better position than the workers of other industrial branches, they too were badly hit by unemployment and fascism. The fascists murdered those printers who raised their voice against war.

Liberation brought about a different state of affairs. The privileged position of the printers came to an end, they too fell in line, side by side with the rest of the workers. The change in the character of power brought about a change in the character of the trade union movement. The trade unions ceased to be sects, and at present 80 to 90 per cent of the workers are rallied in their ranks.

From the point of view of basic living standards the printers are also in a better position than before Liberation. The elementary necessities of life are guaranteed to the workers, not only from the point of view of higher hourly rates which the printers enjoyed before Liberation, but also in a number of other ways. Unemployment has been eliminated. The working people have the benefit of free medical care and old age pensions; their children may attend any school they want to. We should always keep these aspects in mind when discussing living standards. There is, however, another point of view, of no less importance. This is the expectation that things will continue to improve. Everyone can make plans with confidence. No one need worry about what John's day will bring, about whether they will have work or money.

Our socialist system is implementing the principle of wages based upon labour and results. This system cannot place the workers of a relatively small craft into a privileged position. Our primary responsibility was to improve the lot of workers who were still living under difficult and inhuman conditions so as to ensure them a decent life. Three million people lived under such conditions. Our socialist system had to advance them, together with all those working people who in the old days were unable to eke out a living through their daily sweat and toil. This made it necessary to place the printers on the same footing as the rest of the workers. I am sure that you understand this.

I visited the Academy of Sciences recently and had a talk with

some scientists whose economic position had been better under the old system. I told them that we realized that their income had been higher in the old days than they were at present. But how did the majority of the people fare at that time? Millions of people lived in penury. Today there is not a single person in Hungary who has to live under the conditions endured by those millions during the Horthy regime. Isn't it a great thing to realize that everybody is living like a human being in our country? I told the scientists that the advance of the people, to which they too had contributed, must compensate them for whatever losses they had suffered from the point of view of their own living standard. The scientists realized that salary was not everything. Something else is necessary to make man happy and contented. I can say the same thing to the printers.

I recently attended the annual meeting of a cooperative farm. A former middle peasant got up and reported that his son was an apprentice in the Balatonfüred Shipyards and his daughter attended a secondary school. Could a middle peasant afford this in the past? Today we take it for granted that almost half of our youth attend secondary school and in a few years passing the final examination will be as compulsory as the eight grades of general school are at present.

This is socialism, comrades. This is what all those who advocated the ideas of socialism before our days fought for, accepting hardship and sacrifice.

Let me say a few words about our people's culture. The other day I visited our comrade the minister of health, who was laid up sick in the hospital. He told me that when, in the course of a conversation, he made some disparaging remarks about our women writers, one of the nurses started arguing with him. It became evident during the discussion that the nurse knew about most of our women writers and had read many of their books. Her judgement was also very sensible. Our comrade minister found this incident important because the nurse happened to be a gipsy girl. No matter where we go, among workers in the factories, or among the farmers in the countryside, we can note everywhere that the common people are becoming ever more versed in cultural, literary and artistic matters. One can hardly find a person in Hungary who does not know about Attila József.

Still greater results are also called for in the effective dissemination

of culture. This objective is furthered by the socialist brigade movement which is characterized by its double feature of both helping to boost production and to educate socialist man.

Comrades,

The workers in the trades belonging to your union are doing a job of utmost importance. They are contributing to the dissemination of culture, since they are printing books and newspapers, and also the resolutions and decrees of the party and government. The printing industry therefore is playing a highly significant role in the life of our state.

The entire trade union movement is facing great responsibilities. Life demands that the trade unions should become schools of communism; they must advocate the ideas of Marxism–Leninism. This is made possible thanks to their direct contact with the working masses. The trade unions will play a still greater role in the future. The state gradually withers away with the building of communism, and society takes over its functions. Social organizations will be confronted with ever more tasks.

The trade unions, however, are also confronted with immediate, daily tasks. They have to argue, for instance, with the so-called "shopping-bag politicians" and convince them that it is incorrect to evaluate our achievements solely on the basis of what the shopping bag does or does not contain. The full shopping bag is of no avail when there is no stable power, because there is no certainty that it will continue to be full. As long as there is working-class power, continued supplies are ensured, and the shopping bag will never be empty. This is why we must safeguard our power, with patient enlightenment and persuasion, and, if it need be, with fire and sword, with tooth and nail. The strength of our power is primarily rooted in the agreement of our people, in our people's acceptance and support of our policy, in their unequivocal statement that life is not bad in our country.

I pointed out before that in communist society the trade union is going to play an important part in public life.

During the 1956 period some people attempted to make the trade unions "independent" of the party. This attitude is entirely erroneous. The party gives political guidance. Of course, we stand for the in-

dependence of the trade unions. Let them discuss their tasks, make decisions and work in accordance with them, since they are responsible for their implementation. The party does not want to practise a tutelage above the trade unions, because this would mean the assuming of their responsibility, thus relieving the trade unions of responsibility. Trade union functionaries must act independently. Politically, however, the trade unions are guided by the party. In this sense one cannot speak of independence.

Comrades,

Over two years ago I promised to visit the Printers' Union at a suitable time. Let me tell you what prompted me to do so.

Life, this most severe critic, compelled us in 1956 to examine, one by one, every important aspect of the party's work, to review previous viewpoints, and to correct them wherever necessary. We did not reorganize the Central Committee and government to stand for the continuation of bluster, but in order to defeat the counter-revolution. But neither did we want to keep up the practices which Rákosi and his narrow clique carried on in the past.

The unification of the two workers' parties was one of the questions examined. We are convinced that the unification was a historic necessity. It is a fact, however, that it was not accomplished under the circumstances and in the manner it should have been done.

During late January and early February, 1948, a new situation developed in the relationship of the two workers' parties. A delegation from the central leadership of the Social-Democratic Party came to the headquarters of the Hungarian Communist Party. They requested us to suspend recruiting and not to permit social democrats to join the Communist Party. Otherwise they would stop supporting the idea of the unification of the two parties. Let me mention that the two parties were at that time getting along like close relatives: we had our fights, but were in agreement on major questions, such as the nationalization of factories and land distribution. The attitude of the social-democratic delegation led to quite a discussion in our ranks, among communists. Some stated that the social democrats were right, the membership rolls must be closed. I was opposed to this. Marxism-Leninism taught me that it is quite normal for a Social-Democratic Party member to

join the Communist Party, this is a step forward. So why would it be correct to close the membership rolls? This was my opinion then, and I still maintain it today. In my opinion one can force certain things to happen or one can do things in a normal way. I would not, however, have done what unfortunately did take place; I would not eighteen months later have imprisoned the same person whom I embraced and kissed on the parliamentary rostrum when the two workers' parties united.

The two workers' parties did unite thus. This, however, was unfortunately followed by a frantic personality cult, hysteria and mistrust of the masses. This characterized Rákosi and his small group. One could not establish good, comradely relationship with the millions in this manner. The persecution of the social democrats began and quite a few communists were also imprisoned. The correct stand would have been that, once we belonged to the same party, we should continue to march forward on a good, comradely basis.

Following 1956 we had the task of belatedly correcting the mistakes committed during the implementation of unification and of rectifying whatever we would.

Our Central Committee is convinced that it tackled this problem correctly, and many things were put right. And if there is a place where it is worth verifying whether the task was carried out properly, it is certainly the Printers' Union. This was the reason for my coming here.

Comrades,

Great things have happened in our country. We have safeguarded and consolidated working-class power. This is the most important thing. Even if some strange things do happen these days, for instance that vegetables for soup cost more than meat, nobody commits an act of desperation on that score, because this is well known to be a transitional phenomenon. If we hold power firmly in our hands, we can master all kinds of difficulties.

Along with, and following, the safeguarding of working-class power we completed the socialist reorganization of agriculture. This is the second major change.

During the last few years we were faced with the twofold task of

carrying out the socialist reorganization of agriculture and, at the same time, if possible, of increasing, not diminishing, agricultural production. When we distributed the big estates, a fall in agricultural output followed and this caused plenty of difficulties. During the last three years we succeeded in raising crop farming by 8.5 per cent. Purchases went up by 13 per cent in 1961, compared to the previous year. There has been no loss in livestock because of the reorganization; on the contrary, stocks went up to some extent.

The twofold task has come to an end. Our only job now is to raise agricultural production. The interests of the cooperative farm membership and of the entire country coincide. The peasants are also interested in producing more and better products in the cooperative farms.

We are now preparing for the Eighth Congress of our party. In the course of these preparations we are reviewing everything to find out what is in order and what is not. I am confident that the congress will lead to further improvements in our methods of work and will strengthen the line of our party.

SPEECH IN THE VILLAGE OF RUM, VAS COUNTY

May 23, 1962
(Excerpt)

Dear Comrades,

The people of our country are faced with great tasks this year and during the Five-Year Plan. I only wish to give two examples. One is the implementation of the socialist reorganization in the countryside which was not carried through exactly as planned. This calls for very considerable investments. The other task, which was also not planned, is the significant technical development of our national defence.

There were several reasons for the establishment of the cooperative farms. One was the conclusion drawn from Marxist theory and socialist practice, namely that the socialist reorganization of the countryside is absolutely necessary because the social-economic system of a country cannot carry on for a long period on two different foundations. The other was that the larger and better part of the working people had by now mastered socialist ideas and was proceeding to build a socialist society and to put an end to the exploitation of man by man.

This can only be attained in agriculture through the socialist reorganization of the countryside and the establishment of cooperative farms. Allow me to review the three types of agriculture which our generation has witnessed.

Before 1945 we had large estates and a semi-feudal agriculture; our people was liberated from this, thanks to the Soviet Army and the working class. It would be a waste of time to point out that our working people do not want this system back. In those days half of the working population of the village was slaving for a count or a bishop, or were farm hands of a big lessee or landowner. The other half were

not servants or hired men, but—as it is called here—peasants. However, we know very well that the village also consisted of a number of strata, and we know how people used to live. Even the most wretched of the small peasants dreamed of the day when he would acquire some land and would be able to hire hands. He who inherited some land, or was sufficiently aggressive to lay his hands on some, would skin the other peasants without mercy and then grab more.

The fact is, however, that if there were five hundred families in a village, this might include about ten wealthy peasants, about eighty to a hundred families which made ends meet somehow, and there must have been three hundred to four hundred beggars. This was a law. For let us take a thousand *hold* and give two hundred to the rich, how much is left for the rest? Eighty to a hundred families would get five, seven or eight *hold* each, while three hundred to four hundred families would not even have enough to be buried in.

Our ideology cannot allow such a state of affairs. We communists have been fighting for decades for a society in which the means of production are owned by the people, and everybody gets his share of goods according to his labour and diligence, not according to where the stork deposited him—in the mansion-house of some aristocrat or the shack of a wretched man, a few hundred yards away. We have been fighting for such a world, and I know that the majority and the best of our people want this kind of society and are working for it.

Incidentally there is proof of this. One of the main reasons why the People's Republic came out on top in the 1956 events was because the peasantry did not side with the bourgeoisie and the counts and bankers who were trying to sneak back, but remained on the side of the working class. The peasantry was quite bitter in those days because of the compulsory deliveries, low purchasing prices, the high-handed organization of the cooperative farms and a number of other things. The peasant was embittered and sore, but he had no doubt that with the return of the count and his steward he would become a farm hand again. I will continue to struggle along with the cooperative farm—he resolved—because, after all, it is mine.

The Hungarian peasantry took such a stand in 1956 because, although they had been unable really to come to like the new, they were totally unwilling to go back to the old.

The second type of agriculture which we witnessed was the world of the individual smallholder. This is what we had from 1945 when the land reform went through, in fact, right up to 1961 when the socialist reorganization was completed. During this period the peasantry lived and even prospered. But it is also a law that small peasant farming must develop in a certain direction. This is one of the problems. But there is another difficulty, namely that it is impossible to practise modern agricultural production on a small peasant farm. I recently had a discussion with a world-famous American journalist who came to our country to take a look at our cooperative farm organization, in his own way. I told him I knew how many minutes of labour must be expended to produce one quintal of maize in his country. In Hungary, it takes fifteen times as long. That is why we need large-scale farms. The Hungarian people know of two types of large-scale farms: the big estates and socialist large-scale farms. There is no other way to get modern, economic production. I told this American newspaperman, do you think we have gone out of our minds, and in order to produce wheat and beef at a low cost, we are going to gather up the remnants of the counts, barons and big landowners scattered all over the world, beg them to return and organize modern model farms? This cannot happen! We want to have socialist large-scale farms. He could not say a word in reply.

Small peasant farming between 1945 and 1961 had another feature which somehow people do not want to take into consideration. How was it possible that the peasantry made out quite well during this period? Because there was another class which carried the burdens on its shoulder.

What was the tax-rate, for instance, in our country between the land reform and 1961? The rates were so low that any peasant would have gladly signed a life-long contract on the basis of these rates. In the meantime our country was forging ahead. I am very proud of the fact that 15-year-old daughters of rank-and-file cooperative farm members register for upper secondary school. This is one of the supreme achievements of our people. These girls study in the city, in proper school buildings, their teachers are paid, there are well equipped laboratories, and so on. Where does the money come from to meet all these expenses? Not from the bourgeoisie and the aristo-

crats. And we do not want to skin anybody. It was quite simple in the old days: a few exploiters skinned the entire people. But it would not be any good to skin a mere handful of exploiters, this would not do for the entire people!

The main burden was borne by the working class—and this must be admitted in all fairness. This is why people in the countryside made out well. But how long could this go on? Not for ever.

We have been faced with the perspective of either returning to capitalism, or setting up socialist large-scale farming based on an understanding between the party and the people. I know, by the way, that basically this discussion has been settled.

The third type of agriculture is coming into being before our eyes. Socialist agriculture should not be judged on the basis of its present appearance. Our cooperative farms are almost new-born. But let us look at our state farms. What were they like just a few years ago? Bad enough to make one cry. We do not maintain that they are all first-class now, but the majority are in such shape that we can show them to our peasantry and to visiting foreigners—friend and foe alike—with confidence. The same will happen with regard to the cooperative farms. All this calls for time, tenacity, steadfastness and determination. It will take some time, but then it will be a joy to see them.

The question of the unification of cooperative farms was raised here. This should be examined thoroughly to see where unification is possible. Where necessary, it would be smarter to do it now than to struggle along for years. But we have to be careful about too many reorganizations, because in the long run a person won't know whether he is coming or going. Whatever must be done should be started on now; find the proper points of departure and the right people but try not to change them too often. People just do not like to be told where to go and what to do there by a different man every three weeks. We will strive for a flourishing agriculture as soon as possible. People need a lot, and more and more of it. We cannot tell them that they have starved on bread and onions for so many years, that a little more waiting will not matter. Our answer to the people's requirements will be that, if we cannot satisfy them this year, then we will satisfy them next year. This means quite a lot. The factory worker, the office

employee and the peasant expect us to secure them whatever they need: food, clothing, culture, books, radio, television, and so on. Even if they are not available immediately, they want to be sure that they will be available later. Then they will work with greater tranquillity and patience. And agriculture must provide all the goods that is expected of it. This means that it has to produce more, at a lower cost, more efficiently. If a farm is not able to produce in a competitive manner under capitalism, it goes bankrupt. The farmer can hang himself or abandon his farm—he is finished. To lag behind in competition for just one year—that is enough to put him out of business for good.

Our system is not so ruthless. There is room for the strong, the average and even the weak. The latter does not have an easy life, but he gets along somehow. He gets assistance from the rural district, if necessary from the county, and if this is not enough, perhaps from the government. They do not leave him to his fate, to go under if he cannot swim. But we cannot remain satisfied with this; the standards of farming must be raised. The leadership and membership of the cooperative farms must do everything that is humanly possible to improve their position. If they are not able to do something, they should ask for the county's assistance. Should the county be unable to set things right, they can go to turn to the central government, even if we do not encourage this, and the government will come to their aid.

The government gave 6,500 million forints to the new-born cooperatives, in the expectation that this will be returned to the people. We do not refer primarily to the repayment of loans and credits. Our terms of credit are so liberal that they could not even be dreamed of in the old days. If a farm works efficiently, the government exempts it from repaying one quarter of the loan, even another quarter can be remitted if there is a "hard luck" story. Such credit terms never existed under capitalism, and say what you may, 6,500 million forints are not a mere two farthings.

We are not asking for anything impossible, but we expect the people, the cooperative members, the chairmen and the brigade leaders to do everything in their power; as to the district, it should do likewise; the same holds good for the county, while the government will do everything that is possible and within its power.

Let me come back now to the many reasons which prompted us to achieve socialist agriculture. I mentioned, first of all, our socialist theory and practice. Marxism is not a fixed dogma for us, it is a science. In our opinion people are not objects for experiments in Marxism, on the contrary, the science of Marxism in the hands of the people is a means of securing a better life for our people. This truth is borne out by the experiences of the Hungarian people. Theory is not an obsession; we only make use of theory as a guide in actual life. And this is the only road to prosperity for the working people. And it is about time our working masses prospered and were freed from war. We have just lived through a terrible year with a drought, the like of which we have not had for many decades. Yet nobody was ruined or starved. The advantages of the socialist system became quite evident even in this situation. And let me state, the newborn cooperative farm movement helped a lot. But for that we would have a very bad state of affairs in our country. This is the way to look at these things. We thought the time had come, and cooperative farms had to be organized in order to ensure prosperity for our people in five to ten years. This new situation will bring forth its victories. What I have heard here today also points to this outcome. I know that those who have assembled here come from many districts and cooperative farms; their party affiliations have also been very different. They include some old-time communists, some who belonged to the Peasant Party, others to the Smallholders Party, and there are many peasants who never belonged to any party. Still, we are all meeting together now and discussing how to improve the cooperative farm movement.

And people are tackling the problems like real experts! I would not have dared to have made the experiment of calling together such a meeting as this fifteen years ago, because so much confusion would have arisen. Today the comrades here are real experts in agriculture, in farming. This is the main source of our strength. We are also bound together by a certain concord, we can assist each other mutually, moreover everyone is increasingly becoming master of his own job.

Let me stress finally that agriculture is at present a central problem in Hungary. I may add that 70 per cent of the national income is provided now by industry. This does not mean that we should not deal with the problems of industry, but it can be pointed out that

industry is on the right road. We have somewhat less problems running it, although we are faced with the question of technical development and thousands of other headaches. A fight must be waged there, too, so that we won't lag behind. Still, when all is said, agriculture is the central problem which the Central Committee and the government must tackle, out of all the branches of our national economy.

SPEECH AT THE BUDAPEST PARTY CONFERENCE

October 31, 1962
(Excerpt)

Dear Comrades,

In this period of preparation for our Congress it is important to get a proper picture of the unity of our party, and of the internal political situation in our party. Our party's ideological unity is firm, thus it is also firm politically and organizationally. This unity also expresses the great power of our party's main political line, the fact that it is based on the unshakable foundations of Marxism–Leninism and enjoys the fullest and maximum support of the masses.

During the last two decades our country has gone through numerous historical changes of a positive and negative character, through many important events which subjected socialist thinking, the communist movement and the international revolutionary movement to a great test.

These fateful vicissitudes steeled and consolidated the ranks of the Hungarian communists and taught them to shy away from revisionism which leads to class betrayal, and also from the dogmatic, sectarian tendencies which are so destructive to the cause of communism. The struggles of the six years since the counter-revolution proved that the Hungarian communists are adherents of pure and inviolable Marxism-Leninism, of cohesion with the people, of a genuine, true and undistorted communist policy.

Are there any debates in our party, among us communists? Yes, there are. During the past six years the Central Committee stimulated, encouraged and prompted the entire party membership that, when any problem of the international revolutionary movement should be raised

in any party organization, the procedure shall be a many-sided examination of each and every question. There should be a free expression of all opinions in connection with all problems, and the standpoint of the party and party organizations should be decided on the basis of a thoroughgoing discussion on all the facets of the question. We are convinced that this—i.e. creative discussion—is not a formal matter, but the indispensable condition for party unity grounded on ideological and principled foundations. This is the real force, because those people who could freely express their opinion, approvals or doubts, and listen to convincing counter-arguments during discussion, would leave a meeting with the knowledge that they have to carry out their own decisions. This is the mainspring of the mighty and manifold strength of our party.

The Central Committee of the party is now following a method that is well known by you and the entire public opinion of the country. When the party takes a stand on matters affecting millions of people—and the Central Committee's resolutions are as a rule of such a character—we are not satisfied with a thorough and searching examination and discussion of the tasks by communists only. We are involving the broadest sections of non-party workers who are interested in the implementation of the resolution on all possible occasions.

In what does the strength of this method lie? It does away with the need for discussion afterwards. It is equally true during capitalist dictatorship and the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat that when the party goes into battle, it can rely on as many people and on as much strength on each issue as it succeeds in convincing of the justness and correctness of the cause or of its stand. We should never mislead oursélves or the party in this respect. Explaining, answering questions, and persuading those who are unsure, is indispensable!

The general unity of our party depends primarily on the extent to which the Central Committee is firm and cohesive. Things often occur which our half-a-million members know nothing about, because it is physically impossible, in the nature of things, for them to know about them. In such a situation the Central Committee takes a stand. The Congress is given the task of evaluating the work of the Central Committee and, if necessary, of criticizing.

The useful and creative pre-Congress discussions raised a number

of questions. There are some questions, and they came to the forefront, in which the great majority of the party membership understands and approves of the position of the Central Committee, while a minority does not understand or understands poorly, or understands properly but does not agree.

I am not going to take these one by one, but I would like to dwell, with your permission, on three debated questions.

The first question is the abolition of classifying of student youth according to social origin.

Although this refers officially to student youth, in essence, in actual fact and in its direct repercussions, it affects admission to the universities. Does the directive state who should be admitted to the universities and colleges? Not at all; but it makes clear that there must not be one single category of Hungarian youth which is excluded, from the outset, from the possibility of admission. I believe, if we are to get to the kernel of the problem, then this is its concrete and direct practical bearing.

Looking at it from the perspective of the weighty problems of the class struggle—by limiting the problem to its essentials, i.e. that a none too large strata of the Hungarian youth should not be excluded from the possibility of entering university or college—I do not think that this is a big problem. At least not as weighty as many well-intentioned polemicists consider it to be. Some people even go so far as to sound the alarm, saying that our proletarian homeland is in danger. If the Congress approves the proposal to abolish categories on the basis of social origin, this principle may be applied by September next year. Let us presume that a number of such young men are admitted. Taking September 1 next year as the starting point, it would take ten years for these people to be in a position—if they wanted to, and if conditions made it possible—to perhaps endanger the safety of our proletarian homeland; this ten-year period is based on the growing length of studies and the years of practice following it. By that time social development will have advanced so much that not a single person will even remember these problems. The topics of our discussion in September and October, 1962, will by then be forgotten by everybody. The distinctions among student youth on the basis of social origin was correct and just at a certain period of our historic

development. We had to make up for a lag in history; we had to ensure the admission to the universities and colleges of the sons and daughters of the working class and peasantry who for generations had been denied opportunities for education. This was a communist stand; it was beneficial and helped the cause of the party.

But Comrade Lenin warned us that every slogan is bound to become outdated because of changing circumstances and relations, and if we stubbornly cling to a slogan, it becomes a dogma, which is no longer a help but becomes detrimental to our cause. In so far as this problem is concerned, we must realize that continued restrictions would become harmful to the cause of socialist construction, instead of helping it.

The question arises, how can we ensure from now on the admission of working class and peasant youth to the universities and colleges. The raising of this question is justified.

It is my personal conviction that our society must extend assistance and support to those working-class and peasant youngsters who are starting with a definite personal handicap, so to speak, because of the lower cultural standards of their parents; they cannot obtain the same help in their studies at home as extended to the children of parents with higher education. I am convinced that if we tackle this problem correctly and turn our society's attention to this task, then the help will be forthcoming. Instead of fewer working-class and peasant youths, more will enter the universities and colleges than at present.

I would like to ask those who are concerned with this problem not to maintain these categories in their minds mechanically, and not to judge on the basis of whether the parents were workers or peasants before 1938, not to take only this into consideration. As part of this concern they should pay greater attention to youths who are qualified to enter and are, in fact, enrolled to universities, and whose parents are working in the foundries, digging coal in the mines or tilling the soil for our people even today, and should extend greater assistance to them. In this great discussion we are apt to forget a very essential internal factor of this matter, namely that as a matter of course we should help those parents who are working in the factories, mines, fields or other spheres of productive labour. They must be given greater social assistance and help in doing away with whatever handi-

caps their children may face, so that their children may study at the colleges and universities under pretty much the same conditions.

Why do the directives state that we will terminate categories for student youth according to their social origin? Because although this always referred in principle to universities and colleges, there was a period when party work and work in general was unfortunately quite bureaucratic, and subjected the entire student youth to scrutiny, registering them on the basis of their parents' occupation in 1938, something which was never necessary. They stated that if we must know at university admission level what the student's parents did in 1938—whether they were workers, peasants or something else—then we should know it in case of secondary-school students as well. And they went ahead to register secondary-school students. This reasoning led to the following: if we must know what the parents of the secondary-school student did in 1938, then we must start registering this information in the sixth grade of the general schools at least. And that is what they did. Now let us take a young man who will be 18 next September. According to present statistical data his average life expectancy is at least fifty years more. And he will develop into somebody. Who he will be depends to a great deal on us and our society. And we do not want to raise the children of parents of the former exploiting class to become disillusioned hooligans with a shattered life, but to be honest, decent, staunch and fully-fledged builders of socialism. This is a communist standpoint, and also stems from the interests of our socialist cause. It would be unjust to place a child born after Liberation into a position in any respect to his legal detriment because of something which existed in another world, another society, six to eight years before he was even born. Let me add another idea: I believe that we should also consider that there are many former capitalists who have become resigned to the fact that their lives as capitalists are finished, and who acknowledge this, but cannot accept the perspective that the road to life should be barred to their children.

The second debated question is the policy of alliance. The party's policy of alliance is one of class alliance. The question of class alliance is often confused with relations to people, although this is an entirely different problem. A question which is based on cooperation, under the leadership of the working class, between the working class, the peas-

antry and the intelligentsia, and the stratum, and an important one at that, of the urban petty bourgeoisie, is a question of class alliance. The decisive factor in this class alliance is the nature of its basic principles and the reason for its establishment, together with its objective. The underlying principle of our alliance is our ideology; its objective is the building of a socialist society. This policy of alliance is therefore correct and gives strength to our cause.

The next problem is unity, alliance—and again I am using this term in this connection, although this is not a class alliance—and collaboration with non-party people. I use the term alliance because I read recently in an article by Lenin the statement that communists must establish everywhere, in all spheres of work, an alliance with non-party people. This actually means cooperation, working together, or—as we used a different term in connection with another problem—the principled demand that non-party people should also be appointed to leading positions. The gist of the matter is that this cooperation is established on the basis of socialist principles and in the interests of building a socialist society. And this is decisive.

What are our demands in the case of non-party people? That they should be faithful to the cause of socialism, should be loyal citizens of our People's Republic, should want to work for the building of socialism—this is our first demand. The second is that they should be well-trained specialists. These are our two demands. We are not, therefore, faced with the alternatives of placing in some position either a reliable working-class revolutionary who is not good in that particular line, or a non-party expert who is good professionally but can be suspected of a reactionary, counter-revolutionary attitude.

The preparations for the Congress is also linked with the selection of cadres. Many discussions have taken place on the strengthening of local party committees. At times it happened that a man who was described as a fine man, a master of his trade, a decent man who knew how to work for socialism was under consideration. To play safe, we checked up on his party membership, on whether he joined the year before last or twenty years ago. It turned out more than once that he was not even a party member. The wonderful thing in this is that we have been working with people for years; we actually hear them speak up for, and see them taking a firm stand on, the building of socialism;

we label them good comrades and then it turns out that they are not even party members. This is fine. Our fond desire is becoming a reality, namely to bave very few people in the party whom we would prefer to be outside the party's ranks, and to have very many people outside the party whom we would gladly accept as comrades, as party members. This is something to be pleased with, it is a fine thing and we should strive to have many more such cases. It is on this basis and under such circumstances that the demand is raised to have non-party people in leading posts.

Objections have been raised on several occasions by comrades that very little has been said lately in our country about appreciating communists, while we keep on talking all the time about appreciating non-party people. Is this so? We have to admit self-critically that it is. The party and functionaries speaking on behalf of the party, in various places and over several years, have hardly dwelt on the appreciation of communists, while they have continuously advocated that non-party people shall be honoured. The question might be raised whether this is right or wrong. Is it a communist standpoint or isn't it? Well, it would not be difficult at all for the Communist Party to keep on praising communists without stop. What would this lead to? It would be quite dangerous, like the famous Stalinist phrase that the communists are people of a special mould. Would it be in line with our world outlook to divide mankind into two categories, supermen and second-rate people? This would not be right, it would not be a communist, a Marxist-Leninist position. Let us just keep on praising non-party people, and wait until non-party people start praising communists. This is much better than the other way around, with communists applauding communists and non-party people applauding those who are outside the party's ranks. It is far better if communists have words of praise for non-party people, while the non-party people have good words, which spring from conviction, to say about communists. It is not actually correct for me to say that we shall wait for the time—because this time has already come. We have reached a point in our country when non-party people speak with a great deal of appreciation about communists—and this is a healthy state of affairs, it is good. This is what we should tell those comrades who question in good faith why the party has for several years been saying so little

about the recognition and appreciation of communists, while talking all the time about non-party people. You can see for yourselves that this led to the appreciation of communists. Generally speaking, the entire political line can only be evaluated in its overall effect and in its entirety, in a Marxist-Leninist manner. One cannot separate and isolate the problems, the policy of alliance, the placement of non-party people in leading posts, and the ending of categories according to social origin; they should be taken in their entirety, together and in their total effect.

What was the result of the policy consistently followed during these six years? It can be summarized as follows:

The leading role of the working class in our society's life is firm and cannot be seriously contested by anybody. It is incontestable, not because to contest it is prohibited by law, but because the working class, the leading class of society, has achieved undivided recognition by the other classes and strata of society owing to its consistency and — this is the proper term to use—heroism, to its efforts and struggles, thus proving that it is indeed the force destined to lead society.

As we are discussing the consistent policy of six years, let us compare the leading role of the party with the situation six years ago. It is an incontestable and generally recognized fact that communists enjoy a greater, more sincere and more profound esteem than before. Considering the essential problems of the struggle, we can state that during the last six years capitalist, private ownership of the means of production did not grow stronger, but it was socialist ownership, the common ownership, which gathered strength; this took place to such an extent and under such conditions that we can point to a tremendous change, because we have laid the foundations of a socialist society. To this one should add the unrestrained, creative atmosphere prevailing in our country, which cannot be questioned by anyone. This is the most surprising fact to a visitor from the West, no matter who he may be. Let me add to this the establishment of a continuously strengthening, broadening and consolidating popular-national unity, based on a platform of socialist construction and the safeguarding of peace. All this is the result of our policy, which must be the starting point in the correct Marxist evaluation of a problem.

A number of other important questions were also taken up at the

conferences and meetings preceding the Congress. Some remarks were made concerning the pre-Congress gatherings, the party conferences and membership meetings in the factories; they were criticized for having at times practically turned into production meetings. It is, of course, a political mistake if the essential political questions are not discussed at such gatherings. But it is not accidental and not even so bad if working people, and creative people in general, do not meditate too much on the question of whether the putting of non-party people into leading posts is a Marxist or a liberal act; it is proper for them to state that "the situation in our country is generally normal, one can go ahead and work, and as we are building socialism, let us discuss the ways and means of construction." This is not such a big mistake. In this case the factory worker has the same viewpoint as Lenin had. As is well known Lenin stated that capitalism defeated feudalism by ensuring a higher productivity of labour and a greater abundance of goods for society. Socialism will also finally and completely defeat capitalism by creating a higher productivity of labour and a greater abundance of goods. This shows that the workers and Lenin are on the same platform. And we can learn from them!

How do we stand now with regard to labour productivity? We stated, during the meetings last spring and in connection with the Congress Directives, that we should use two kinds of yardsticks: our past standard, which we have left behind, and the world standard. We started to do this, and the Central Committee also took steps in this connection. The question of productivity was examined and we found the following: at present the United States of America is way ahead in standards of labour productivity. Then come the advanced western capitalist countries, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, all more or less on the same level. Then comes a considerably lower standard, and this is where we, the Hungarian People's Republic, stand. I trust everybody understands that the most essential problem of our entire work is the raising of labour productivity in industry, agriculture, and everywhere else where people carry on productive, creative work. Because our objective—to surpass capitalist society and defeat it in peaceful competition—can only be reached in one way: through a victory attained in the field of labour productivity—and through nothing else!

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY TO THE EIGHTH CONGRESS

November 20, 1962

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee reports that it prepared for the Congress in accordance with the prescriptions and the spirit of the Leninist Party Rules. The documents of the Congress were made public and thoroughly discussed in due time and order. The policy of the party, its general and local tasks were discussed in detail at membership meetings and party conferences. These conferences elected and, at the same time, affirmed the party committees and elected delegates to the Congress. About 100,000 comrades took the floor at the membership meetings and party conferences; a healthy atmosphere of creative work predominated, and full approval was expressed for the party's general line and policy. Everywhere our party's unity and solidarity became manifest and were further strengthened.

The directives of the Congress met with the agreement and approval of not only the communists, but also of the broad masses of the Hungarian working people. This received splendid manifestation in the sincere and convincing attitude displayed by hundreds of thousands of conscious working people who expressed their approval of our party's policy, of the cause of socialism, by wonderful examples of creative work in the socialist emulation launched in honour of the Congress. We can say that the revolutionary Marxist–Leninist vanguard of the Hungarian working class, founded forty-four years ago, has now arrived at this important milestone in its history, at the Eighth Congress of the party, in the prime of its strength and enjoying the confidence of the people.

Comrades,

In its work to implement the main line of the Seventh Congress, the Central Committee has always felt the support of the party membership, the Hungarian people and the international working class. This is why in our appraisal of the work done in the past three years we can state that the basic objectives of the Seventh Congress have been achieved, and results of historic importance attained in our country. The Central Committee wishes to express its sincere thanks and appreciation to the Hungarian people, to the hosts of Hungarian communists and young communists, and to its non-party allies for their magnificent accomplishments. For the invaluable assistance they have rendered us, we sincerely thank the fraternal communist and workers' parties, the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, and all those who are fighting throughout the world for the common cause to safeguard peace and advance social progress.

Comrades,

My task is to present to you the report of the Central Committee. The report of the Central Committee and amendments to the Congress Directives have been prepared with full consideration for the proposals and suggestions made in the discussions. The intent and endeavour of the Central Committee accord with the desire expressed in the discussion: to implement the tested policy of our party and to apply the principles of socialism with greater firmness and more consistency in our social, economic and cultural life.

Before dealing with the various questions of the report, allow me on behalf of the Central Committee to repeat my hearty greetings to the representatives of our fraternal parties, the delegates to this Congress, to our guests; I welcome in particular the representatives of the veterans of our revolutionary movement and of our non-party friends, and wish the Congress success in its work.

I

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION; OUR TASKS IN FOREIGN POLICY

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

We live in the age of mankind's development in which capitalism —the old, declining social system based on exploitation—is being replaced by the new, the socialist order, the free world of labour. This process is the unalterable law of social development.

The international situation is characterized, at present, by the ceaseless growth of the forces of progress and peace. For the time being, the phases of tension and relaxation still alternate, for the capitalist powers, the forces of imperialism oppose historical progress and, in an attempt to defend their weakening positions, repeatedly resort to the means of the policy of strength and aggression.

The main force of progress and peace is the world socialist system, which, in our age, is the decisive factor of development. All countries of the world socialist system are vigorously progressing along the road of creative work and social development. From 1951 to 1960, the annual growth of industrial production of the socialist countries was over 13 per cent. For this same period, the figure was only 5 per cent for the capitalist countries. In 1940, the industrial production of the Soviet Union constituted 10 per cent of the total world industrial output. Today, the socialist countries account for 37 per cent of the world industrial production, and this figure will reach 50 per cent in a few years' time.

The Soviet Union is heading the forward stride of the socialist countries. In that country, socialism has attained a complete and final victory, and communist construction is unfolding ever more extensively. The rapid development of the Soviet Union is characterized by the fact that the Soviet Union rapidly overcame the backwardness inherited from Tsarist Russia, that it has become the foremost industrial power in Europe, and has set the goal of rapidly overtaking and outstripping, in per capita production and consumption, the United States, the most advanced capitalist country, in a short time.

With regard to the training of scientists, public education, in numerous fields of scientific research, and in numerous important branches of revolutionizing technique, of power plant construction and of industrial production, the Soviet Union has already outstripped all the other countries. All mankind is justly proud of the epoch-making achievements of the Soviet Union: the sputniks, the space ships and the Mars–I space station launched recently, and the Soviet heroes of the cosmos, Comrades Gagarin, Titov, Nikolaev, and Popovitch.

Comrades,

In contrast to the continuous and vigorous development of the countries of the world socialist system, the capitalist world, contending with contradictions and crises, is on the decline. As a result of the very existence of the world socialist system, the sweeping successes of the national liberation movements, the class clashes within capitalist society, and the antagonisms between the imperialist powers, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming more and more acute.

The main front of the international class struggle lies between socialism and capitalism, and this struggle is fundamentally expressed in the struggle between the two systems. The struggle for socialism, for national independence, for democracy and for peace—all amalgamate in a great international revolutionary stream.

The international bourgeoisie is attempting to defend and consolidate the shattered capitalist system, in order to gain control of the productive forces which have outgrown national frontiers and are rebelling against capitalist private property, and to curb the growing contradictions about to disrupt the imperialist system.

Behind the smoke-screen of empty slogans, the European Common Market is striving, in reality, for the increased exploitation and oppression of workers, for the annihilation of small peasant holdings and of small entrepreneurs in the countries concerned. Besides this, however, it is directed primarily against the world socialist system, against socialism, the proletarian revolutions, and the newly independent countries. The economic basis in Europe of that aggressive bellicose organization, NATO, is therefore profoundly reactionary in every respect.

Capitalist society is characterized by intensifying class antagonisms, ever more frequent clashes between the classes, expanding proletarian and democratic movements, and the struggles for peace that are gaining in strength. In the capitalist countries of Europe and elsewhere strike movements are spreading and the struggles of the peasantry are becoming sharper. The anti-monopoly struggles of the proletariat in the capitalist countries are interlinked with the mass struggle to defend democracy, against the rising fascist menace and with the ever growing struggle for peace. Today, the working class in the capitalist countries is striving to build, in the struggle for democracy and peace, the broadest possible alliance of all social forces against monopoly capital and the fascist menace.

The decay of the capitalist system, the weakening of the forces of imperialism, is most strikingly shown by the disintegration of the colonial system. Since the Second World War, the peoples of more than fifty countries have shaken off the colonial yoke and became independent; most recently, the heroic people of Algeria won independence and freedom after seven years of continuous struggle and war against the colonialists. Fundamentally, the one-time big colonial empires have been destroyed under the blows of the peoples that have awakened to national consciousness and have taken up the cudgels for their independence. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have always been the bulwark of the oppressed peoples fighting against colonialism who have at all times enjoyed the comprehensive support of the international revolutionary working-class movement.

The forms of colonial oppression which still exist differ. The old-style, overt and brutal colonial rule still survives, for instance, in Angola where the fascist Portuguese government is trying to retain, for a time at least, its rule by the mass extermination of the people which is fighting for its independence. In other areas, the more covert forms of oppression and exploitation known as "neo-colonialism" are being applied. This often manifests itself by the colonial powers formally recognizing the political independence of the country concerned, while endeavouring to make its people even more dependent economically.

The United States, replacing the well-known and hated old colo-

nial powers, appears in various places donning the guise of a "well-meaning friend." The real personality lying behind this guise is, however, revealed by the fact that the monopolist circles of the United States, which invested between 1950 and 1959 about 12,000 million dollars in the underdeveloped countries, pocketed and took out from there in the same period a profit of more than 12,000 million dollars.

International imperialism quakes before the irresistible advance of socialism, the independence struggle of the peoples liberated from the colonial yoke and fighting for their freedom. It is also hard pressed by the inner contradictions of capitalism which are becoming ever sharper. They are trying to find a way out of their critical situation by militarizing the economy, stepping up the arms drive, by cold-war policy and repetitious aggressive actions which menace peace.

That is why mankind today still has to live under the threatening shadow of war. The imperialists, headed by the imperialist circles of the United States, at every step infringe on the norms of universally recognized international law, commit outrages against the independence of nations, the sovereignty of countries and peace. By obstinately rejecting every proposal intended to ease international tensions, they have for years been committing provocative acts in Berlin and in the area of occupied Taiwan, they have been dispatching U-2 scouting planes over the Soviet Union, China and, more recently, Cuba; they are waging war against the people of South Vietnam, and are provoking the people of Cambodia who insist on their neutrality.

Recently, by proclaiming and introducing, on October 22, an unlawful naval and aerial blockade in the Caribbean and by taking other military steps for an attack on Cuba, the U.S. government trampled international law underfoot, and brought about the greatest threat to the peace of mankind since the end of the Second World War. Mankind is indebted to the Soviet Union, to the Soviet government and its prime minister, Comrade Khrushchov, who acted with a high sense of responsibility, self-control and calm, for averting the imperialist provocation, defending the sovereignty of Cuba and upholding peace.

The Hungarian people and its government assume full solidarity with the just cause of the Cuban people, and fully approve all the

steps taken by the Soviet government in this respect. To this day, however, the imperialists of the United States have not abandoned their aggressive plans against Cuba. Our people warmly greet the heroic Cuban people and its courageous leaders. We support the five-point proposal of the Cuban government demanding that the U.S. government respect the lawful rights of Cuba. Common sense and peace-loving mankind must urge the U.S. government to abide by the rules of international law and, abandoning its adventurous projects, to respect the independence and sovereignty of Cuba.

The imperialists must always bear in mind that the united might of the socialist world, of the countries and peoples adhering to their freedom and independence, of the international revolutionary working-class movement and of the movement for world peace is more powerful than the forces of aggression. Their provocations are doomed to failure, and should they still embark upon the adventure of war, though they would inflict untold suffering on mankind, it would profit them nothing, for war would mean their own destruction.

Comrades,

The primary task of the socialist countries in the present international situation continues to be the maintenance of their national defence on an adequate level, and its uninterrupted development, in order to protect socialist achievements and peace. The high-level defence capacity and readiness of the socialist countries, the military strength of the Warsaw Treaty organization, safeguard the inviolability of the socialist world and the peace of mankind. We are proud of the fact that the army of the Hungarian People's Republic, equipped with modern weapons, is lined up with the armies of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty; that, together with these armies, it is ready and capable of defending peace, its socialist homeland, of protecting the security of the world socialist system and repelling any kind of imperialist aggression. It is lucky for all mankind that imperialist aggressors are curbed and deterred by the powerful Soviet Union, which is heading the peace-loving forces and which possesses the mightiest and most advanced military means, and which, should the need arise, would, together with the entire socialist camp, administer the aggressors an appropriate counter-blow.

While in possession of an invincible force, the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty countries, the countries of the socialist camp are unflinchingly pursuing their policy of peace. In all countries of the world, and in the minds of all thinking men, the concepts of socialism and peace are ever more inseparable. People increasingly realize that imperialism can only offer mankind the permanent threat of war, while the countries of the socialist camp consider the maintenance of peace the main interest of mankind. The entire socialist camp stands for the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, of peaceful coexistence. In our opinion, war must be eliminated from among the means of solving controversial international issues.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the government and the people of the Hungarian People's Republic are fully united in adhering to the principle of peaceful coexistence. We are proud that the Soviet Union—inspired by the ideas of the great Lenin and further developing them in applying them to present-day conditions—so magnificently represents the cause of peace and progress and promotes it with vigorous initiatives in all domains of international life. In the autumn of 1959, the Soviet Union submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations its proposal for general and complete disarmament.

Our free, socialist homeland, the Hungarian People's Republic, stands side by side with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the struggle for general and complete disarmament, and for the complete abolition of the colonial system. We are aware that the full realization of these aims will cost the peoples a great deal of effort, struggle and labour. Our party and our people are firmly convinced that common sense will finally prevail, general and complete disarmament will be realized, and the day will come when the thunderclouds of war will forever be dispelled from over the heads of mankind, and life will be beautiful and tranquil under a clear sky.

Comrades,

The struggle to maintain peace, to achieve a lasting peace is an everyday task for all communists, and not only for communists but, in fact, for all thinking and honest men and women in every country

of the globe. The anti-imperialist struggle for peace is, at the same time, a class struggle on an international scale. Therefore, the struggle for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is the basis of the foreign policy of not only the socialist countries; the revolutionary activities of every communist and workers' party are closely interwoven with the struggle to uphold peaceful coexistence and to avert a new world war.

The strength and the peace policy of the countries of the world socialist system, the class struggle of the international proletariat, the national liberation struggles and the world-wide struggle for peace promote and fortify one another in the struggle for peaceful coexistence. The successes of the foreign policy of peaceful coexistence hasten the victory over capitalism, facilitate the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, assist the national liberation movements, and thus weaken the forces of war. Peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition must be imposed upon the imperialists. We are convinced that the struggle between the two social systems must be decided in a peaceful way, in peaceful competition.

Comrades,

Our party, the Hungarian people and its government welcome and back the proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty states. The realization of these proposals would contribute to the easing of international tension, to a relaxation of the cold war and the arms drive, and to a reduction of military expenditure. We approve and support the struggle of the Soviet Union for a ban on nuclear weapons and tests, and for the liquidation of the remnants of the Second World War.

For years, the Soviet Union and the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty have been waging a consistent struggle for what is, today, the only possible solution of the German problem, viz. that the German peace treaty be concluded and West Berlin be declared a free city. Such a solution is becoming increasingly urgent, for the government of the German Federal Republic pursues its revanchist policy with increasing aggressiveness, strives to obtain nuclear weapons at the earliest possible date, and increasingly threatens the peace of Europe and the whole world.

This peril is enhanced by the so-called Paris–Bonn axis, i.e. the alliance of the one-man power in France with the militarist, clerical dictatorship in West Germany. On the strength of our bitter historical experience and our people's interests, we wholeheartedly agree with the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic for a peaceful settlement of the German question. We, for our part, are always ready to cooperate in the implementation of these proposals.

We approve and support the proposal of the Soviet Union aimed at the withdrawal, behind national frontiers, of all troops stationed abroad. We approve the idea of a non-aggression pact to be concluded between the member states of the Warsaw Treaty and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

These are the clear principles and aims of our foreign policy—principles and aims known, approved and supported by the entire Hungarian people. The defence of the independence and sovereignty of our country, the protection of our people's freedom, socialist achievements and peaceful work of construction constitute the unalterable fundamental principle of our foreign policy. Soviet-Hungarian friendship is the strongest pillar in the struggle for our foreign political aims. We are and shall remain unswervingly loyal to the Warsaw Treaty organization, to our friendship with the Soviet Union and with the countries of the socialist camp.

Our party considers it to be an internationalist duty to do its best, both in the interest of our peoples and on the basis of our common ideals, to enhance the strength and unity of the socialist camp. It is our endeavour even more to strengthen our ideological and political unity and our economic ties with the Soviet Union, with the Chinese People's Republic, with all socialist countries in Europe and Asia.

We support the just struggle of the Chinese People's Republic for the liberation of Taiwan; we demand that it take its rightful place in the United Nations. We support the struggle of the Vietnamese and the Korean people for the peaceful unification of their divided homelands. We wish to see the frontier problems between the fraternal Chinese People's Republic and friendly India settled peacefully, through negotiations.

Comrades,

The Hungarian People's Republic believes that in the present situation the neutral states can play a useful role in the easing of international tension, in the efforts aimed at the liquidation of the cold war. Correspondingly, we are striving to develop our ties with these states, in the fields of diplomacy, of economy and culture alike.

Among the neutral countries, those which recently gained independence, and which adhere to the principle of positive neutrality, play a great and increasingly important role. The fact that Algeria, Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Mali, Guinea and other countries have come out for the abolition of the colonial system, their anti-imperialist conduct and their determined stand for the cause of peace contribute to improving the international situation. Our ties with this group of countries are friendly. The Hungarian people deeply sympathize with their goals of social progress. We consider it our duty to assist these countries, as far as our modest possibilities permit, in ensuring their economic independence and building up their national economies.

We strive for good relationships with the neighbouring countries that pursue a policy of neutrality.

We consider it our task to develop our relations with Yugoslavia—which can be called normal at present—into truly untroubled, good-neighbourly and friendly relations. Many possibilities are inherent in the relationships between Hungary and Yugoslavia especially in the economic sphere—possibilities that have not been sufficiently exploited so far. Their utilization would be of great advantage to both countries. The similarity of fundamental social conditions constitutes a favourable possibility for developing our ties, as does the fact that our viewpoints are identical on some important international issues, and similar on others. We must find the ways and means further to improve relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in state and economic life, despite ideological differences on major problems of the international working-class movement.

We endeavour to make our relations with Austria not only normal, but good-neighbourly, too. We respect the neutrality of Austria, codified and guaranteed by international treaties. We believe that

useful cooperation is possible between the two countries. Our interests do not clash: they equally demand the maintenance of peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. There is goodwill and readiness on our part. But the same things are needed on the part of Austria as well. It would be timely for Austria to take a firmer stand against those persons who intentionally disturb the ties between our countries. They should wind up the well-known international intelligence agencies which, unhindered, carry on their machinations on Austrian territory against the socialist camp and Hungary.

Comrades,

As a result of the unequivocal, clear and consistent foreign policy pursued in recent years, and of the great successes scored by our people in creative work, the international position of the Hungarian People's Republic has been consolidated. The respect for and the prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic beyond our frontiers, in the eyes of our friends, have grown, but even the forces opposed to us have no choice but to recognize our achievements and the strengthening of our country.

In the three years that have passed, the Hungarian People's Republic established diplomatic relations with 18 states, and now has diplomatic ties with 57 countries. In the same period we concluded 48 interstate agreements and treaties with non-socialist countries.

The consolidated international position of Hungary asserts itself in the United Nations, too. For six years now, the U.S. delegation has been pursuing its anti-Hungarian attacks in the U.N., but with diminishing success as the years go by. They have again forced on the agenda of this year's session of the U.N. General Assembly the "Hungarian question" they concocted. In 1961, 51 member states voted to put this question on the agenda, and 15 voted against it. This year, only 43 delegations voted for and as many as 35 against putting the question on the agenda.

However, every delegation to the U.N. General Assembly, even the U.S. delegation which forced the question on the agenda, know only too well that the "Hungarian question" is simply a cold-war action, with no real problem, past or present, behind it that would

fall within the competence of the U.N. The root of the question does not lie in the U.N., but in the unsettled relations between the governments of the United States and the Hungarian People's Republic. We are striving, in full sincerity, to normalize our relations with the United States, too. All that is needed for that is for the U.S. government to abandon its impracticable efforts of trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Spokesmen of the United States, and others too, have tried to interfere in the internal affairs of our sovereign country, as for instance in the administration of justice of the Hungarian People's Republic. These attempts at interference have always been rejected by our state, and will be rejected in the future, too. At all times and on every issue, our state takes the uncompromising defence of the Hungarian people's primary interests, the essence of our socialist system, and humane considerations as a starting point, and punishes and pardons accordingly. As is well known, in the cases of persons sentenced for counter-revolutionary crimes, the Presidential Council repeatedly and broadly made use of its right to grant amnesty. More than 95 per cent of the people sentenced for such crimes have—either after having served their terms or, for the greatest part, on the strength of amnesty—been released and have become integrated into normal life. This is the situation in this sphere, and our state intends to apply the principles it has adhered to so far also in the future.

There are no real differences between the peoples of the United States and the Hungarian People's Republic, between the two countries; on the contrary, the interest of both peoples lies in the maintenance of peace, in the normalization of relations between the two states. The controversial questions between our governments can be settled, too, provided they are raised by both sides with the necessary goodwill and with the intention of settling them. Our government is ready to examine the controversial issues and supports any rational solution that respects the sovereignty of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Comrades,

The internal conditions in the Hungarian People's Republic are such that we can proudly point it out to anyone: we have nothing to

bread tastes bitter, and they are longing to return home. We welcome every honest man and woman wishing to live and work in Hungary. And as to people emigrated from Hungary who have struck roots abroad, we ask them to remain good friends of the old country, to win praise for Hungary's good name, to fight for the cause of the working people, for peace and progress in their new homeland.

Here, in the region of the Danube and Tisza rivers, the socialist country of the Hungarian working people is being built up now. Our people are doing peaceful, constructive work and achieving good results. This—the future—is being safeguarded and served by the entire strength of our system and of our state, by our home and foreign policy. Our foreign policy has remained unchanged. We shall pursue and intensify this foreign policy. We are certain that justice and common sense will come out victorious, that lasting peace will be attained and established. Our party, our people will not cease unflinchingly to work and fight to make this goal a reality.

II

WE HAVE COMPLETED THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY. THE CHANGES IN THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND THE STRENGTHENING OF SOCIALIST NATIONAL UNITY

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

Three years ago the Seventh Congress of our party stated that our most important task consists of speeding up the building of socialism and of completing within the next few years the laying down of the foundations of socialism in our country. At this present Congress the Central Committee is in a position to report to the party, and the party in turn to the Hungarian working people, that we have solved this task; the building of socialism has made great strides ahead and we have completed the laying down of the foundations of a socialist society.

hide. The creative work of our people has produced fine and great results.

Our compatriots travel to many foreign lands and we, too, heartily welcome anybody who is interested in our country. The number of Hungarian tourists travelling abroad and that of foreign visitors coming to this country increase year by year. While developing the growing tourist traffic with the socialist countries, we are also increasing tourism with the capitalist countries. In 1958, 26,000 persons came from capitalist countries to Hungary; in 1961, no less than 71,000 visitors came to Hungary from these countries. In 1958, 18,000, in 1961, 43,000 Hungarian citizens travelled to capitalist countries.

You can see that Hungarian citizens are free to travel to capitalist countries, despite the fact that extollers of the capitalist system keep harping on the subject of more people absconding from socialist to capitalist countries than the other way round. This, however, is nothing but silly bragging. Capitalism is the past, socialism the future. It is obvious that people rent with inner conflicts always escape into the past, for one cannot "escape" into the future. One can go into the future only if one goes consciously. There are more people in the capitalist countries who would like to live under socialism than there are people in Hungary who would like to return to capitalist rule. The difference is that people living in capitalist countries who wish for a socialist system of society are politically conscious and thinking people, who want to—and will—accomplish the socialist order in their own country. It is possible, though, that the capitalists would prefer if these people were to abscond.

Many of our compatriots live abroad. The majority were driven into foreign lands by the poverty prevailing in the Hungary of the gentry and by Horthyite fascism. But the people who fled abroad in the years following Liberation and in the period of the 1956 counter-revolution are not a uniform lot either. The majority of them were led astray. Many of them have repented since. The dreams of restoration of the counter-revolutionary émigrés have dissolved into thin air, and the "leaders" who became hired lackeys of the imperialists will be thrown on the garbage heap of history. The great majority of the Hungarians living abroad rejoice at the increasing successes of our country, at the advance of our people. To most of them, foreign

The greatest achievement of the past few years has been, beyond doubt, the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Our party has applied correctly the Marxist–Leninist scientific theory in the agrarian question.

It has been conscious of the fact that the peasantry must be organized and led on the road of socialism by the party and the working class. The reorganization of agriculture has been actively assisted by all strata of society.

In the organization of the cooperative farms the party strictly adhered to the Leninist principle of voluntariness.

The cooperative farm has been the major form of mass organization.

Our party has placed before itself and correctly solved the important social problems of the peasantry, care for the aged, sickness and accident insurance, and other problems of a similar nature.

We saw to it that the peasantry shall be materially interested in cooperation, they shall be reimbursed for the means of production brought in when joining; that the peasant who joined the cooperative with land should get rent; various systems of sharing and bonuses have been applied to ensure that the cooperative member who works more and better shall receive a greater share of the returns of collective labour.

The party has taken a timely and successful stand against rightist and "leftist" views hampering the socialist reorganization of agriculture and has specified the major tasks of the mass organization of cooperatives. The general central directives went hand in hand with the successful propaganda and organization work of the local bodies. The party took a united stand on all important questions.

It was important for our party to apply cooperative democracy during the formation of the cooperatives, with full confidence in the peasant masses, in the election of the executives and in farm management.

Our people's democratic state and our working class have provided the machines, buildings and other necessary means of production indispensable for starting the work of the cooperatives.

We have also succeeded in solving the so-called twofold task: even during the period of the reorganization of agriculture, agricultu-

ral production has increased. As a result of all this we can state that not only has the socialist reorganization of agriculture been achieved but it was done in a sound manner in all essential respects. There are many convincing proofs to this effect. It may be ascertained in any part of the country that our cooperative peasantry is working with zeal and confidence, the fields are properly cultivated everywhere.

It is a well-known fact that the weather has been rather unfavourable to agriculture during the years of the reorganization. We have weak cooperative farms, too, but the soundness of the whole of socialized Hungarian agriculture can also be ascertained from the following: agricultural production during 1959 to 1961 increased by an average of 8.5 per cent as compared to the previous three years. The total amount of agricultural products purchased by the state was more than 13 per cent higher than in 1958. The country's livestock increased during the period of the socialist reorganization of agriculture; there has been a considerable expansion of the irrigated area, of viticulture and horticulture.

The unified socialist relations of production thus developed created favourable conditions for a speedier development of the productive forces and relations of production; they assist in stepping up the increase of production and of the productivity of labour in all branches of the national economy; they help us to establish an abundance of material goods and enrich the life of our working people.

The socialist transformation of agriculture affects the structure of our society, class relationship and the political and moral development of the classes. The socialist transformation of agriculture, a great victory of the idea of socialism and, of course, at the same time a serious defeat of the concept of private ownership, has considerably advanced the cultural revolution.

Let us cite one example to illustrate the tremendous changes in the countryside. This is what Zsigmond Móricz wrote thirty years ago about the village of Drégelypalánk and its inhabitants. "How do the people live? Very poorly, very wretchedly. There are at least thirty families which haven't eaten bread since autumn and they shall not have any until harvest. There are also many families which have not slaughtered a pig for years and are without fat of any kind. The poorest do not even have potatoes, but vegetate on maize. They

cook the maize in water and this is what they eat for breakfast, lunch and supper."

Drégelypalánk is a cooperative village now. The collective wealth of the cooperative farms amounts to 5,000,000 forints. The average annual income of a cooperative member is 15,000 forints. They have not only plenty of fats, but sugar consumption, too, has gone up considerably. The annual per capita sugar consumption is 41 kilograms. One hundred and eighty-six of the 480 dwellings of the village have been built since Liberation. Out of the 2,000 inhabitants in that small village 386 are radio subscribers and 20 have television sets. There is a total of 193 newspaper subscriptions. The cultural home of the village with a library and a cinema seating 220 people was built in 1961. And what has been said about Drégelypalánk can be said of all Hungarian villages.

If Zsigmond Móricz or Attila József, these passionate critics of Hungarian life and authentic witnesses of the recent past, were to look around in our villages they could testify that the world of the "three million beggars" and of the "thousands of epidemics, the high infantile mortality" belong to the past.

Summing up the essence of the road traversed in the construction of socialism, we can state that socialist relations of production have become incontestably dominant in our entire economy. At present almost 96 per cent of our national income is derived from the socialist sector. Ninety-eight per cent of our industrial products are manufactured by socialist enterprises. About 96 per cent of the arable land is cultivated by cooperative and state farms. There are no exploiting classes in our country thriving on the labour of other people. There is no unemployment, no feeling of insecurity. Our working people are benefiting from the goods produced according to work done, in line with the principle of socialist distribution.

This is the essence of the main thesis of our Congress Directives that "we have completed the laying of the foundations of socialism in our country." Our people can state that, in cohesion with the international forces of socialism and relying upon them unswervingly, our achievements in socialist construction are irrevocable and final. The Hungarian people has entered into the epoch of the completion of socialism.

Comrades,

Following the laying of the foundations, the productive forces must be greatly developed for the completion of socialism in industry and in agriculture alike. Our responsibility is to consolidate and perfect the newly established socialist relations of production and to provide the socialist content for the established socialist framework. We must strengthen the socialist features of our cooperative farms. We must consistently carry out the socialist cultural transformation in our country. The shaping of the socialist consciousness and morality of our working people and their socialist education has come into the forefront.

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

It is a decisive factor in the development of our country that we can work now on the completion of socialism in a society which has come close to becoming a unified socialist society of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and of the intelligentsia, of the working people. The deep-going changes which took place in the class structure of our society during the laying of the foundations of socialism, and the socialist development of the political and moral attitude of the working classes ensure more favourable social and political conditions for our work. It is our duty to consider these changes realistically and draw the necessary conclusions therefrom.

A characteristic of the development of the past five years has been the change in the division of the working population according to socio-economic groups. In 1957, 55 per cent of all bread-winners were industrial and office workers, their ratio went up to 65 per cent in 1962. In 1957, 6 per cent of the bread-winners were members of co-operatives and family members who assisted. Their ratio rose to 30 per cent in 1962. In 1957, individual farmers and private tradesmen and their assisting members of the family made up 39 per cent of all the bread-winners. Their ratio decreased to 5 per cent in 1962.

It is a fact of historical significance that close to 95 per cent of the bread-winners are working in socialist state enterprises and institutions and in cooperatives.

How can we characterize, therefore, the class relationships, the present status of the classes of society ?

The leading force of our society is the working class which doubled

its ranks since 1949. However, the numerical increase, in the development of the working class is not the most decisive. Socialist consciousness and organization of the working class developed simultaneously with the numerical growth. The strength of the working class is shown by the fact that it is itself being transformed in the course of the socialist revolution, ridding itself of the leftovers of the capitalist past, of various petty-bourgeois characteristics, and is leading in the shaping and dissemination of the socialist way of working and living. By achieving and maintaining power and with its steadfastness and heroism in socialist construction the working class has gained the undivided recognition and esteem of all working strata. There is not a single significant stratum in our society that would question the leading role of the working class.

The peasantry makes up the other great labouring class of our society. In recent years the greatest change has taken place in the life of the peasantry. Formerly, the peasantry was divided, from a class point of view, into different strata, and consisted mainly of such working people who, though attracted by the future of socialism, were tied by their past and present to private property and small commodity production. This, of course, also determined the character of the worker-peasant alliance.

The alliance of the two labouring classes had been firm in fundamental political questions, but due to its position, the peasantry vacillated in several questions of building socialism. With the victory of the cooperative movement this class, too, entered on the road of socialism, which is leading to the gradual elimination of the remnants of the former class divisions in the countryside and to the emerging of a unified socialist peasantry. With this the worker-peasant alliance rose to a new, higher level and developed into an alliance of two classes of a socialist character.

The great majority of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, small tradesmen and small businessmen of seventeen years ago, are working today in trade cooperatives or other socialist enterprises. Individual small tradesmen and merchants are likewise playing a useful role in providing for the population.

Special mention should be made of the intelligentsia, this stratum of our socialist society which is steadily growing in number and signif-

icance. The ratio of the intellectuals has considerably increased among the factory and office workers. About one half of our present-day Hungarian intelligentsia acquired its qualifications after Liberation, and most of them are of worker and peasant origin. The classification of our intelligentsia into "old" and "new" intellectuals would have no meaning under present-day circumstances. The so-called "old" intelligentsia has undergone a radical change in its views and attitude during the more than seventeen years following Liberation. The Hungarian intelligentsia is marching and working shoulder to shoulder with our working class and peasantry, building socialism and ever more becoming socialist in its outlook.

Comrades,

The major achievement of the social changes is the final disappearance of the exploiting classes from our society. The economic liquidation of the exploiting classes took place considerably earlier. But as long as private property and small commodity production dominated in agriculture, the economic possibilities for the rebirth of exploitation prevailed. The socialist transformation of agriculture, however, put an end, once and for all in our country, to the possibility of the exploitation of man by man.

The overwhelming majority of the members of the former exploiting classes, and especially of their descendants, accepted the people's power and the new social order, became adjusted to the new state of affairs and is earning its living by working.

Today, there are no more classes or notable strata in our society whose interests would conflict with socialism. The tasks facing us in the completion of socialism are in harmony with the interests of the entire working people, are comprehensible, attractive and inspiring. Though there still are active enemies of our system, their number is decreasing and becoming ever more isolated in the ocean of our people building socialism.

Comrades,

A most important prerequisite for the successful work of our party is the Marxist analysis of class relations, the correct evaluation of the problems of the policy of alliance and of the class struggle.

The policy of alliance of our party means the alliance of classes. Lenin proclaimed that the party as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class must establish and implement, both in the period of the struggle for power and during the building of socialism, the alliance of all labouring classes worthy of note, and ensure their joint participation in the struggle.

In its policy of alliance, the working class is guided by the ultimate goal of communism and by those tasks whose solution in the given situation bring us closer to the ultimate communist goal. The task in the present stage of development is the completion of socialism. The working class is allying itself, in furthering this target, with all labouring classes and strata.

In settling the problems of the policy of alliance, our party is taking into consideration the great changes in the structure of society, and the fact that the political, ideological and moral progress of all labouring classes and strata is speeding up. All this enables us to strenghten and widen the alliance of the labouring classes and develop it into a socialist national unity. The construction of socialist society, the achievement of communist society for which our party is struggling, is not a narrow party objective, not that of only one class, the working class, but is ever more becoming the objective of the entire nation. This goal must be achieved by the united efforts of all classes of our society.

The socialist working class is the most mature and most advanced in the common effort and struggle. Its leading role is implemented in the entire policy and activity of the party.

The constantly developing socialist national unity is based upon the alliance of the working class and peasantry, the content and foundation of which have become uniformly socialist. But this alliance does not develop automatically. There are differences between the working class and the peasantry, and they will continue to exist for a long time to come; they spring from the different development level of the productive forces, of the socialist relations of production and of socialist consciousness.

These contradictions can and must be solved on the platform of socialism by further improving the achievements of socialism through common harmonious efforts, keeping in mind the interests of all labouring classes and strata. In the cooperative sector the socialist economy

is not on such a safe footing as in state industry. But its consolidation also in this field is in the interest of the entire people. This is why we must assist and support the cooperative peasantry to strengthen their cooperatives in order that they may become advanced socialist farms and that the unified socialist peasant class shall emerge.

We are expecting primarily of the peasantry in turn that, in making better use of the existing possibilities, they shall contribute by an upswing of agricultural production to the development of the national economy and to the better provision of the entire population. Now, when the fundamental interests are common, we have the prerequisites for the various classes and strata to work in accordance with the common interests, imbued with responsibility towards the entire society, with a sense of duty and unselfishness.

Formerly, in the alliance with the peasantry we had to consider the internal class differentiation of the peasantry as well. The "Leninist threefold slogan" is well known in our party. Lenin stated during the period of the struggle for the consolidation of proletarian power: "The task at the present moment is to come to an agreement with the middle peasant, while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak and at the same time relying solely on the poor peasant . . ."* It would be a serious mistake to turn this revolutionary slogan into a dogma and apply it in a stereotyped manner now, after the liquidation of the economic bases of the class division of the countryside. This would lead to the disruption of the cooperative farms.

After the socialist reorganization of the countryside, the objective has become the liquidation of the remnants of the earlier class differences within the peasantry and the establishment of a unified cooperative peasant class. For this reason within the cooperatives, too, the socialist principle must be applied that the members shall be judged and benefit from the results of the collective work not according to their former class position, but on the basis of their participation in the common work, reliability and merits on the job.

The closest cooperation of our working class and peasantry with the intelligentsia is another important part of our policy of alliance. The intelligentsia must be in constant and live contact with the other work-

* Lenin, V. I., *Selected Works*. Volume VIII. Valuable Admissions by Pitirim Sorokin. New York, 1943, p. 150.

ers of socialist society who rightfully look upon the intelligentsia as their own. The essence of our policy among the intellectuals is to continue to ensure all the conditions for the creative work of the intelligentsia to speed up its socialist development and assist it in mastering Marxism-Leninism.

In the present stage of our social development, with the leftovers of the urban petty bourgeoisie still around us, it is necessary that the socialist labouring classes shall maintain a relationship of alliance with these strata as well.

We must unite on the basis of the policy of socialist national unity all those who are labouring for the cause of socialism and peace. We must rally communist and non-party people, the politically active supporters of the system and those who are still vacillating and indifferent, supporters of the materialistic world outlook and religious people alike. The building of a socialist society is the cause of the entire nation. This is the future of the nation; a hitherto unknown flourishing of the Hungarian nation will be achieved in the socialist society.

The Patriotic People's Front movement, this live, active and significant factor of our social life, is one of the guarantees for the speedy and forceful development of socialist national unity. The Patriotic People's Front movement has some functions of constitutional law as well. Its social task, however, is more important: it should become a framework of the alliance of the working classes and should advocate the idea of socialist national unity.

Comrades,

The alliance of the labouring classes is also developing in struggles in the period of the construction of socialism. The policy of alliance and the class struggle are two complementary sides of the policy of our party. It is a known fact that our party does not strive to sharpen the class struggle. It is better for our people if the intensity of the class struggle is lessened, if its forms are less sharp. However, this depends not upon us but upon the class enemies and international imperialism. Experience proves that not by unprincipled concessions can the class enemy be isolated and annihilated, but only through consistent policies based upon principles, the bold advocacy and the purposeful realization of our ideals.

The policy of socialist national unity does not mean that the class struggle is over in our country. This policy expresses the fact that our positions have become stronger, new tasks have come to the fore, and the forms and means of the class struggle have changed.

A firm people's power continues to remain the first condition of our socialist development. We shall continue to take a firm stand against all reactionary political forces opposing our system; we shall firmly safeguard our lawful state and social order. We shall defend the independence of our country, the sovereignty of our state and the socialist achievements of our people in the face of the threats of imperialism. Our policy of alliance and our stand in the class struggle further the consolidation and development of our socialist system, the more effective isolation of the enemies of the system, the winning over of the still vacillating elements and the general strengthening of the positions of socialism.

In the wake of the decisive successes of the political struggle, capitalism must be defeated now in other areas, including those where the resistance of the remnants of the old world is the greatest and most persistent. Socialism will establish its final and complete superiority over capitalism by establishing a higher productivity of labour and a greater abundance of goods. The socialist transformation of consciousness, however, cannot be separated from the solution of this task.

Comrades,

The content of socialist unity is the alliance of all classes and strata of socialist society. An important political element of national unity is the mutual confidence and cooperation of communists and non-party workers in building a socialist society.

Lenin in his article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism" wrote:

"A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid becoming divorced from the masses it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward. Without an alliance with non-communists in the most varied spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist constructive work."*

* Lenin, V. I., *Marx, Engels, Marxism*. Moscow, 1947, p. 475.

Our party has been advocating and applying this Leninist teaching in the struggles of the past few years, and practice has again proved its correctness. Our achievements are due, not least of all, to the fact that our party united and cooperated with non-party people, non-communists, in all spheres of socialist construction.

Our party has stated on several previous occasions the point of view based on the principle that in our country non-party people may fill all leading posts, with the exception of party functions. Our requirement towards non-party people, too, is that they should be faithful to the cause of socialism, to the Hungarian People's Republic, should sincerely work in the building of socialism and possess the necessary competence and knowledge.

The problems of socialist construction have become ever more complicated and complex; hence, the requirement of competence, special knowledge and general grounding is becoming ever more indispensable in filling leading posts. The great majority of ordinary workers and peasants, who were given various leading assignments after Liberation and in the initial period of socialist construction, did an excellent job while performing their extremely difficult and responsible work. For years they sacrificed their leisure acquiring the necessary special knowledge and further qualifications.

What is the situation now? If it is true—and we know it is—that in the present stage of our development the advance and consolidation of the socialist order depends to a great extent on whether we assure proper leadership in economic and cultural affairs, then it is also true that competence and special knowledge must be considered a prerequisite in filling all leading posts. It is not that we demand expert knowledge in place of loyalty to the cause of socialism, but rather that alongside the first requirement of loyalty, of unreserved devotion to the cause of socialism, the other also indispensable requirement appears with increasing emphasis: the insisting on competence and the necessary knowledge. This is the gist of the matter.

It is our conviction that this policy helps the cause of the working class and of socialism, and promotes the assignment to various leading posts of competent executives who are loyal to our system and serve the interests of the working people properly. With this the direct participation of workers and peasants in leadership does not decrease. There are

hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants, young people of working-class and peasant descent who acquired, during the period since Liberation, the high competence required for leadership, in most cases secondary-school and university training.

In our judgement it is good, wholesome and in line with the interests of socialism if, while solving questions of personnel, it becomes clear that in addition to party members ever more non-party people are meeting the political and technical requirements called for when filling public functions. This further promotes the union of communists and non-party people and the development of socialist national unity. In this sphere, too, the party cautions against the application of any blueprint, against the insistence on some kind of mechanical ratio.

Comrades,

The correct handling of social origin is another important question connected with the development of socialist national unity. The Congress Directives of the Central Committee contain the thesis which states, "there is no more need to categorize our student youth according to their origin." This thesis did not meet with the approval and agreement of certain comrades. The Central Committee proposes that the Congress restate and approve this thesis. Our proposal starts out from the change of class relations and from the strength and tasks of our people's democratic system.

The classification of the student youth according to origin was correct and just in the early stage of our development. We had to make up for a historical delay in order that the sons of the working class and peasantry who were deprived of the possibility of education for generations could secure higher education in the proper ratio. This was the communist stand and it advanced and benefited the cause of the people. In the present situation, however, the maintenance of this restriction does not help, but rather harms the building of socialism. The youth who is going to apply for admission to secondary school or university next year was born after Liberation, under our system. It would be unjust to restrict these young people in their opportunities for education because of the class position of their parents before their birth. We must also consider that these young people will live their future in a socialist society.

The unchanged requirement is to admit such young people to the universities and colleges who have a correct attitude, a progressive outlook and who are excellent students, but there shall not be a single stratum of the Hungarian youth, no matter how small, which would suffer discrimination because of the former class position of its parents and would thus be excluded from the possibility of university and college training.

We must see to it that among the youth to be admitted to the universities in the future there should be not less students of working class and peasant origin than so far, but rather more. This merely depends on whether or not our society extends to this youth the help necessary for education. There is no doubt that our society will render them this assistance. Assistance shall be given primarily to the children of those parents who are working now in the mines, factories and the fields. This must also be taken into consideration when dealing with students and in allocating social scholarships, too.

We have been carrying on this policy, in essence, for six years with increasing consistency. During these six years, our policy of alliance, our unrestricted confidence towards the working masses, the appreciation of non-party people, our respect of man, and the fact that we are not waging a class struggle against school children, have frequently been touched upon.

This is a communist policy grounded on a firm basis of principle, which resulted in the strengthening of the positions of the working class and socialism during recent years. The workers' power has become stronger, the pace of socialist construction has been accelerated, the laying of the foundations of socialism completed, the leading role of the party increased, just as the appreciation of the communists in the entire country among all the people. Our party shall continue to apply this communist policy which is firm in its principles and does not compromise in the question of class, but which at the same time is humane and takes life and circumstances into consideration.

Comrades,

The analysis of the class relations of our society and the questions of the class struggle show that the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat is still not concluded in our country. Our people's

state is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it will retain this character in the period of the completion of the socialist society. Nevertheless, certain features pointing to the development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to an all people's state, are becoming more accentuated in our country.

The democracy of the socialist system is day by day expanding in the Hungarian People's Republic. The full equality of citizens prevails today. There is no disadvantageous or advantageous differentiation because of class position or former class position in so far as rights and duties are concerned. All citizens have the right to vote and are eligible. Democracy, the cohesion with the people, is becoming more pronounced in the activity of the National Assembly and of the councils and of all central and local bodies of state power.

We must strengthen the democratic features of our state and increase the independence of the elected council bodies. We shall constantly look for ways and means for the involvement of ever broader strata of the population in state affairs, in the administration of public affairs. We have increased and shall continue to increase the role played by social bodies and mass organizations in state affairs. Responsibilities formerly attended to by state bodies have been transferred to the jurisdiction of social bodies. The work of our organs of state power and administration must be further improved by strengthening the democratic features of these bodies, overcoming the bureaucratic features, improving control, raising the expert knowledge and competence and by still greater reliance upon the direct assistance of the working masses.

New parliamentary and council elections are due within a short time. We must make use of this opportunity, too, to establish still closer ties between our organs of state power and the people, so that they shall become more suitable for carrying out their great and important functions. We can stand before the voters during the elections with a policy tested in practice and with a clear-cut programme. On the occasion of the parliamentary and council elections the party will discuss, true to the traditions of our people's system, with hundreds of thousands of working people, the great and small questions of the development of our country. We are certain that the people of our country will endorse with their votes the policy of the party and government; and,

what is still more important, they will assist its implementation in the future with all their strength, and will build the socialist homeland with deeds and creative work.

III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY. THE TASKS OF OUR SOCIALIST WORK OF CONSTRUCTION

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

I shall now turn to economic questions, to our party's economic policy. The main economic-political conceptions of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party have been verified by life. Our economic policy is developing soundly, it is balanced, and our plans are feasible. We have achieved the principal aims of the Seventh Congress in the sphere of economic construction work.

In 1960, we successfully completed the Three-Year Plan. The national income in the period of the Three-Year Plan increased by 25 per cent instead of 13 per cent as envisaged. Industrial production increased by 40 per cent instead of the planned 22 per cent, and agricultural production, as provided for by the plan, increased by 12 per cent. The per capita real wages increased by 12 per cent and the per capita real income increased by 16 per cent. Having considerably overfulfilled the Three-Year Plan, we were able to begin our Second Five-Year Plan from a higher basis.

One and three-quarter years have gone by since the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan. It is not yet possible to assess and thoroughly analyse every result of this period accurately, for the 1962 plan has not yet been completely carried out. Yet, if we consider the economic results of the Second Five-Year Plan so far, then the following picture is revealed to us: in 1961, the production of socialist industry—surpassing the objectives of the plan by more than 3 per cent—was about 12 per cent higher than that of 1960. The structural transformation of industry continued: the machine industry produced 15 per cent more, and the chemical industry produced 20 per cent more than in 1960.

Owing to the damage caused by the drought, overall agricultural production in 1961 did not grow to the extent envisaged by the plan, and remained essentially at the same level as in 1960.

The crops hardest hit by the drought were first of all those that are gathered in the autumn; however, an average of 11 quintals of wheat was produced per *hold*, more than at any time before. We fulfilled the plan for livestock farming. In the autumn of 1961 the beef cattle stock was 3 per cent larger, and the pig stock 15 per cent bigger than in 1960. In 1961, total state purchases were 6 per cent higher than in 1960.

According to the combined data of the first nine months of 1962, industrial production, as compared to last year, was 8 per cent greater; agricultural production, on the basis of data available so far, increased by 1 to 2 per cent, the cash income of the population by 5 per cent, and retail trade by 4 per cent over last year. In the initial stage of our Five-Year Plan, therefore, industrial production went up more rapidly than planned, whereas the growth of agriculture, owing to the drought, was slower than envisaged by the plan. As a whole, however, the rate and trend of development of our national economy has been in keeping with the targets of the Five-Year Plan.

We regard the following as the foremost economic result of the three years between the two Congresses: our national economy has undergone considerable development; we completed the socialist reorganization of agriculture, and modernized our national defence forces. We provided for the expenditures entailed by the latter, which arose earlier than planned; nevertheless the national economy developed in a planned manner, rationally, and the standard of living continued to increase considerably under the Three-Year Plan and to some extent in the first two years of the Five-Year Plan.

In the years between the Seventh and Eighth Congresses the development of the Hungarian national economy, as regards the rate of industrial output, labour productivity and the rate of growth of the national income, has caught up with the rest of the socialist countries.

Comrades,

The Central Committee, on the basis of the results and experiences so far, can report with a feeling of satisfaction to the Congress that our Second Five-Year Plan, which was prepared according to the Direc-

tives of the Seventh Congress, has proved to be feasible and correct, and essentially does not need to be altered. Our main economic task now is to work to implement, fulfil or, wherever this is desirable and correct, to overfulfil the Second Five-Year Plan.

It is possible to achieve the splendid objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan, and it is necessary that we do so: a 36 per cent increase in the national income, a 48 to 50 per cent growth in industrial production, a 22 to 23 per cent rise in agricultural production, a 22 to 23 per cent growth in the consumption fund, and a 16 to 17 per cent increase in per capita real income. As far as can be determined we shall overfulfil the plan of industry; in agriculture, however, in order to achieve the aim we have set, we shall have to carry out well-considered measures and exert great efforts in order to overcome the fallback caused by last year's and this year's droughts.

One of the key questions of development is the modernization of the branch structure of industry. One of the very important methods of raising productivity of labour is to increase, in industry, the share of profitable products approaching world standard. Achieving the technical standard of the leading countries is made possible by the rapid development of branches of industry based on specialized mass production. For this reason we must better avail ourselves of the advantages of the socialist international division of labour. The up-to-dateness of the products of industry determines the development of exports and the international balance of payments and thereby influences the development of the living standard as well. This is the reason why we must make further efforts to alter the structure of industry in the desired direction. In the course of this, chemical industry output will be growing at a faster rate than the average development of industry. The growth of the production of the chemical industry has a prominent role in increasing agricultural production and the more economical output of numerous industrial articles.

Our party is paying great attention to the expansion of the engineering industry. The up-to-dateness of all other branches of the national economy depends on the technical development of the means of production turned out by the engineering industry. Our country is comparatively poor in minerals, the density of population is rather high; for this reason, the processing industry and within it the machine in-

dustry are to play a great role in the systematic employment of manpower, and we are to an increasing extent paying for the import of raw materials and power, too, with machines. As part of the engineering industry we are developing primarily the instrument and the telecommunication industries. The raw material requirements of these industries are lower than the average.

Economic efficiency requires that we modernize the country's fuel balance. In 1937, 74 per cent of the world's power needs was met by coal. In 1960, the share of coal was 51 per cent, and the share of oil and natural gas is constantly growing. For this reason we must promote the rapid exploitation of domestic oil and natural gas deposits to a greater extent than coal production.

Technical development, economic, social and cultural progress demand that we continue the electrification of the country. By investing several thousand million forints, we shall step up electric power output at a rapid pace; we are importing considerable quantities of electric power from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. By this we shall achieve an approximately 45 per cent growth in the per capita electric power consumption during the Five-Year Plan.

In recent years we have to a growing extent asserted the principle of directing attention to quality production, not merely on quantity. Here and there this quantity-output approach still exists; not everyone has really understood that production is not an end in itself, but must follow the constant change in needs and the general requirements of technical development; that, above all, by observing quality requirements, we must produce economically. We must halt the manufacture of uneconomical, obsolete products and rationally utilize the released productive capacity. This requires a certain amount of planned regrouping of manpower. Certain managers, instead of explaining the advantages of this measure to the employees affected and seeing to the systematic regrouping of the labour power at such times, preserve the old state of affairs and, with this attitude, cause harm to the national economy.

In its rate of development agriculture must close up to socialist industry at a faster pace and must reach the world standard in an increasing number of spheres. To achieve this, we are providing more buildings, equipment, machines, chemicals and experts for large-scale

production from year to year. In the next few years, for example, agriculture will receive more than 20,000 tractors, and for each *hold* of land nearly twice the amount of chemical fertilizer as in 1961. In 1961, we irrigated about 230,000 *hold* of land and this year more than 360,000 *hold*. Then, in 1965, there will be irrigation farming on more than 600,000 *hold*.

The most important thing in the consolidation of the cooperative farms is the construction of commonly-owned large-scale units, and the rapid development of cooperative funds. At present and in the years ahead, however, both in supplying the country and the cooperative members, and even in the very strengthening of the commonly-owned farms, the households plots are still playing an important role and will continue to do so. Experiences on a country-wide basis indicate that the best utilization of the possibilities in every cooperative farm is made possible first of all by good management, the work of the entire membership, agreement between the leadership and the members, and that the income of those who work better should be guaranteed by a suitable system of bonuses.

Economic work is the key question of our general development; accordingly, we must mobilize the party, the mass organizations, state and economic leadership and the working people, to a greater extent than up to now, for the earliest and the best possible solution of the tasks before us. The most important task is to increase and improve productivity and efficiency in every sphere of production. The Five-Year Plan, the party and government resolutions on the engineering industry, agricultural production and other economic fields correctly designate the tasks. The most timely, current responsibilities of completing the construction of socialist society are tasks like raising the general level of industry, the further improvement of its structure, and the development of bread-grain and fodder production in agriculture; at the same time these also ensure the further rise in the working people's living standard.

Comrades,

Our party holds the principle that the construction of socialism must go hand in hand with a regular rise in the living standard of the working people. This does not mean, however, that the living standard

can rise every year regardless of the actual conditions ensuring an increase.

The Central Committee believes that, as far as raising the working people's living standard is concerned, it can report on good results with a clear conscience. Over the past years the big investments have been realized and the living standard has increased considerably. As compared to 1956, the real income of wage and salary earners rose by 34 per cent, the real value of the peasantry's consumption grew by more than 21 per cent. The consumption of the population, as compared to 1958, increased by 20 per cent in 1962. Meat consumption during this same period went up by 17 per cent and the present consumption of coffee and tropical fruits is double that of 1958.

Our party and government give appropriate attention to and ensure all possible means for the building of homes, which so strongly affects the living conditions of the workers. In the period between 1958 and 1960, 187,000 homes were built, and in 1961, 16 per cent more than in the preceding year. From 1949 to 1956, 34,000 were built on an annual average; from 1958 to 1961 an average of 62,000 homes were built in the country. The number of those with legitimate demands for apartments that at present cannot be met is very high, and we have to work tenaciously to reduce gradually the shortage in flats. But it is worth while to note as a result of our work that during the three-year period from 1957 to 1960—taking four to a family—more than 700,000 moved into new flats.

The number of social insurance beneficiaries grew between 1959 and 1962, with the drawing in of those peasants who joined the cooperatives, from 7,200,000 to 9,400,000 and now includes 94 per cent of the population. In 1961, 548,000 grown-ups and children spent their holidays in trade union or factory-owned rest homes for equitable fees. Speaking of the standard of living we must mention that the deposits in savings banks increased from the 2,000 million level in 1958 to 8,500 million in 1962.

The trend in the living standard depends not only on the magnitude of earnings, but on the level of goods supply, too. Friends and enemies equally acknowledge our favourable conditions in this respect. The population can obtain for its money to a growing extent consumer goods in appropriate assortment and quality. The population has faith

in our policy and properly evaluates the common-sense economic management of which an important factor is to ensure the balance between purchasing power and commodity funds.

Comrades,

After the significant increase of per capita real income in 1957–1960, during the last two years it grew only 1 to 2 per cent. This small increase took place, however, under circumstances when three extraordinary factors influenced the position of our economy. The second year of drought has inflicted our agriculture and through it our economy. At the same time we had to allocate significant investments in agriculture which were recovered only later, and we had to use significant resources to modernize the equipment of our armed forces. The stability and soundness of our economy is proved by the fact that despite these factors we succeeded in sustaining and even somewhat increasing the standard of living.

We have to consider the modernization of the equipment of our armed forces as expenses that ensure and defend peace and living conditions, which may be considered good, of the Hungarian working people; the inviolability of the frontiers of the socialist homeland, the defence of our national independence, our creative work and our peace are sacred to our people. As long as imperialism exists and lasting peace is not ensured, as long as the defence of peace requires vigilance and alertness, our party and our government consider it a sacred responsibility to the people to provide up-to-date equipment for our armed forces.

Comrades,

The Hungarian workers know from their experience that our Central Committee and the government never pass any measures to raise the living standard until it is materially secured by production. They also know that the party and government waste no time if it is possible to raise the living standard.

We shall carry out those specifications of our Five-Year Plan which are aimed at improving the welfare of our people. We want to achieve this primarily by raising the incomes in the years to come; we shall provide ever more job opportunities, but an increase in productivity

and output and higher qualifications will also increase the income of those who are already employed. The average wages of workers and certain groups of employees shall be raised in such a way as to improve wage proportions.

Secondly, part of the funds allocated for improving the living standard shall be spent for various welfare purposes. We must remember that many large families are still in a difficult situation. The party is doing its utmost to improve the position of large families at an above-average rate. We shall raise the family allowance for families with two children and improve the conditions of widows. Next year we shall extend maternity leave and make it possible for mothers with children under three years of age to stay home and care for their children by taking unpaid leave without prejudicing their work relations. We shall gradually level off the prevailing differences in the periods of free hospitalization and the supply of medical appliances. During the Five-Year Plan the working hours shall be reduced on all jobs harmful to health.

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

Today when economic construction demands the solution of big and important tasks, more is expected of the economic management. The significant economic achievements prove by themselves that economic management is of a satisfactory standard in general. However, the tasks demand continued improvement. The effectiveness of economic work shall result in higher productivity and better work efficiency in all areas of the national economy; in making the life of workers better and more joyful, and in bringing closer the complete construction and final victory of socialist society.

The system of the planned management of our national economy must be further improved. The nature of economic processes necessitate a smooth transition between certain plan periods. For this reason the continuity of planning is indispensable. We shall start work on the preliminary ideas of our Third Five-Year Plan this year, which is earlier than has been the practice in the past; furthermore, we shall also elaborate the concrete stipulations of the first two years of the Third Five-Year Plan.

We must further improve departmental control and management

in industry and agriculture. One of the essential aims of the reorganization of industrial management, which is now in process, is to reduce the number of directing bodies that exist between factories and ministries. Our idea is to extend the authority, independence and responsibility of executives who are directly responsible for the management of production. The higher leadership should act on fewer questions than heretofore, but central guidance and control should be made more effective.

Another important job of reorganization is to carry out the rational merger of enterprises that are too scattered. This shall lead to all the advantages that go hand in hand with a greater concentration of the means of production. The fact that mergers will cut down on office work is only one of the advantages of this step, but not the main one. Much more important is the fact that the concentration of production will promote more up-to-date organization, technical development, and a speedier and wider introduction of inventions and innovations.

The Central Committee and the government are also busy with the further improvement of agricultural management. We deem it important not to reorganize everything all at once in a harum-scarum manner, but to reorganize in a given territory as seldom as possible and make sure it is satisfactory and long-lasting. For this reason we must study carefully both home and international experiences and consult the competent persons.

With the reorganization of agricultural management it is our aim to bring departmental control into closer contact with production, and to effectuate a more lively relation between scientific research and production; also to ensure that higher departmental control shall decide on fewer questions, but be more effective than heretofore. That is how we want to increase productivity, to make better use of machinery and all the means of production, and to give the country more and cheaper agricultural products.

Our socialist system of society has given rise to wonderful new forces for economic development: the creative initiative of hundreds of thousands of workers. It is the duty of the economic executives to give greater consideration to the numerous innovations of the workers, the recommendations aimed at the all-round development of production as well as criticism of management.

The increased activity of the working people, the socialist labour emulation and especially the development of the socialist brigade movement continue to be important tasks. At present, more than 31,000 brigades are competing for the title of socialist brigade, and almost 9,000 have already won this title. The socialist brigades also lead in the labour emulation in honour of the Congress. Their members live an exemplary life; they are working and studying, accomplishing and disseminating socialist ideas and morality.

We have to improve the standards of economic management at all levels. The executives should not trail after the problems cropping up in life, but rather raise and solve these themselves. They should look ahead, direct economic processes and not become flustered when questions become urgent. Good economic management is inconceivable without a strict control of the execution of decisions and instructions. Persons who fail to carry out resolutions, who violate the interests of the economy, who tolerate the waste of public wealth, squandering and loafing, must be severely called to account. Corruption and the widespread attitude of "one good turn deserves another" has to be uprooted. The socialist principle of "He who does not work shall not eat" must be implemented.

Socialist consciousness and enthusiasm must be constantly enhanced as this is a powerful force in socialist construction. However, it is no less important that those who work more, who contribute more to society, should receive more, that the personal financial interests of people should be combined with the power of consciousness for the good of socialist construction. The existing system of bonuses, awards, pro rata participations, and shares in profits still requires considerable improvement. Quite frequently, the present system of bonuses and profit-sharing does not give the really good workers enough incentive for work; in fact, sometimes it has the adverse effect on public interests.

The system of material incentives must be improved to stimulate technical development, thrift in production and better utilization of production equipment. Higher bonuses should be allowed to be paid by those enterprises which in expediently outlined plans aim at the greatest development and actually achieve it. In certain branches of industry it is advisable to outline the system of material incentives for a longer period in advance, for several years.

In Hungary labour productivity still lags far behind requirements and possibilities. In this respect, we are at the bottom of the ladder in comparison with other socialist countries. The increase in labour productivity above all depends on better means of production and higher technical standards.

In general, investment targets for the first two years of the Five-Year Plan were implemented. However, it must be stated that progress is slow, the realization of certain—some very important—investments lags behind the planned tempo. We cannot permit investments to be made without the appropriate technical and economic preparations. Today, the key task is to prepare for investments well and on time, and to plan for them technically.

Up-to-date, efficient factory management is another very important requisite for increasing labour productivity and economical production. Even today we speak frequently about latent production reserves. The reserves originating from faults in the organization of production are not so latent any more. The local leaders have an important role in tapping and utilizing these reserves. Unfortunately, it cannot be said even now that the technical and economic executives of enterprises are taking advantage of these possibilities. In the near future considerable improvements must be achieved in the organization of production where we are lagging behind the most, viz. the preparation of manufacturing processes, better utilization of the existing capacity of machinery and material handling.

Rational manpower management, thrift with materials and a better utilization of the assets of the enterprises are of national economic interest. The productivity of labour, however, cannot be increased by the independent, isolated activity of the various plants and production branches. All our enterprises must manage their work in such a way as to ensure the speediest possible increase in the total national income.

The planned increase of the productivity of labour constitutes the prerequisite for the successful realization of our Five-Year Plan. For this reason, all economic executives and all the workers have to concentrate their attention on ensuring an increase in the productivity of labour. In the present phase of the class struggle a single measure taken to improve labour productivity is worth much more than a hundred radical slogans railing against the imperialists. We have to

keep in mind Lenin's article, "A Great Beginning," in which he wrote the following as early as 1919:

"In the last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system. Capitalism created a productivity of labour unknown under serfdom. Capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished, by the fact that socialism creates a new and much higher productivity of labour."*

Comrades,

Our rapid economic development has immense reserves in the possibilities inherent in the socialist international division of labour. So far we have not made adequate use of these vast possibilities.

The Hungarian People's Republic is a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The broad socialist international cooperation has already rendered great assistance to Hungary in developing her national economy and will open up fresh possibilities for our further economic advance. The representatives of the parties of the member countries of C.M.E.A. held a conference in Moscow last June. Highly appreciating the past gains derived from cooperation, this conference emphasized the need for our countries to expand their economic relations. Indeed, if we want to make use of the economic possibilities of our countries, our primary task is, besides trade, to coordinate our plans, our scientific research programmes and the utilization of scientific achievements. We have to develop technical cooperation and increase the larger, joint investments.

Our party and our government wholeheartedly approve these statements and will do everything in their power to implement them. We do not want to utilize our production installations for the manufacture of products made separately, on a small scale and in small series, hence, at a high cost. We want to pass over to production in large series, to efficient production, to the rational utilization of the means and investments. We are firmly convinced that we can noticeably speed up the development of our national economy if we make better use of the possibilities inherent in the socialist collaboration of the countries of C.M.E.A.

* Lenin, V. I., *Selected Works*. Volume II. A Great Beginning. Moscow, 1947, p. 497.

Socialist cooperation in the economic field has by now led to outstanding achievements. Such is the "Friendship" pipeline, which is already transporting oil. There is the "Peace" power line which links the grids of the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Poland. We are already getting electric power through this. Useful cooperation has come about in iron metallurgy between Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland and Hungary. This resulted in the division of the different types of products, and thus fewer products will be produced in each country in greater amount and at a lower cost. Hungary's chemical industry obtains Soviet oil and Rumanian natural gas as a result of international socialist cooperation. A very important Hungarian-Soviet agreement for the development of the aluminium industry was signed recently. This agreement, one of the most outstanding in aluminium industry even on a world scale, is another fine example of the all-round and constant fraternal assistance extended by the Soviet Union to the Hungarian People's Republic.

Comrades,

The better utilization of the grand possibilities in the economic cooperation of socialist countries does not mean that we are keeping aloof from other kinds of international relations. Hungary has also established important and growing economic cooperation with newly independent countries that are now building their own independent national economy. These ties are based upon the principle of mutual advantages. In addition, the Hungarian People's Republic considers it its duty to render technical and scientific assistance within its possibilities to these countries. We are supporters of international economic relations also in the sense that we are trading, and will continue to trade, on the basis of mutual advantages with the advanced capitalist countries.

We approve and support the proposal of the Soviet Union presented to the United Nations for the convocation in 1963 of a broad international conference to discuss the problems of world trade. We consider that it is possible and necessary to maintain and to extend economic relationships between countries with different social systems. It is our firm conviction that all measures restricting world trade are

detrimental while the expansion of world trade is advantageous to all countries and all peoples. This latter would also effectively further the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence.

The joint harmonizing and establishing of the long-range perspective plans setting forth the general trends of development of the national economy over and above the five-year and seven-year perspective plans mean a new stage of development in the economic cooperation of the socialist countries. The Planning Office is elaborating now the twenty-year perspective plan until 1980 and its harmonizing and finalizing with the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The major trends of the twenty-year perspective plan have by now been clarified. According to this plan, by 1980 the national income will increase four times, industrial production at least five times, agricultural production two to two-and-a-half times their present volumes. The twenty-year plan aims to raise consumption to three-and-a-half the present volume, and to provide all families with their own modern flat. All this must be solved so that, by raising productivity and by technical development, we shall be able substantially to reduce working hours.

The strength and great superiority of the socialist system over capitalism consists not least of all in the fact that, in the face of the anarchy of capitalist economy, socialist planned economy charts a clear road of development and makes possible the conscious unification and concentration of the forces of society for the achievement of definite objectives.

At the end of the twenties the Soviet Union with its First Five-Year Plan blazed the trail for the properly conceived development of the national economy for years ahead. The power and vitality of our communist ideas is demonstrated by the fact that at present a large number of socialist countries are elaborating a coordinated twenty-year plan for economic development. The Hungarian People's Republic outlines the perspectives of its brilliant future in a realistic, inspiring twenty-year plan.

IV

THE RESULTS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. OUR TASKS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

We have reached a stage in the development of our society in which a more intensive unfolding of socialist culture is one of the main prerequisites for the complete victory of the revolution. In more than one way, the progress of socialist society depends on the consciousness of the masses, on the standard of their general and professional education, on the number and knowledge of the experts.

Public education has a decisive role in the continuous development of our cultural revolution. Schools and universities are becoming increasingly important scenes of the revolutionary struggle waged for the complete building of socialism, not only because the generation of the future is being shaped here, but also because the influence of schools and teachers extends far beyond the school itself, to almost every field of social life. Schoolmasters and teachers are the major social factors, the best fellow combatants of the party in moulding the new man.

Our public education is making rapid forward strides. In 1938, only 34,000 pupils finished school corresponding to eight classes; in 1957, the figure rose to 104,000, to reach 140,000 in 1962. The number of secondary-school pupils was 52,000 in 1938, 145,000 in 1959 and increased by a further 42,000 in the past three years. University and college students numbered 11,700 in 1938, and 38,000 in the 1959—60 school year; since the Seventh Congress of our party their number has increased by a further 22,000. With these results we have caught up with the most advanced European capitalist countries—not to speak of the system of evening and correspondence school courses which is practically unknown in capitalist countries. And we must not forget that all these results have been achieved by a country which had started from the depths of the backwardness of the Horthy regime, and that there were as many as 600,000 illiterates in Hungary at the time of its liberation.

We have raised the age limit of compulsory education to 16, so that there shall be no child in the country who will not have finished the eight-grade primary school. At present, almost every second pupil after finishing primary school continues his or her studies in secondary school. It is our aim to raise the number of secondary-school students gradually, year by year until secondary-school education becomes universal, too. An ever increasing part of the new skilled workers takes the matriculation examination at the end of their secondary-school studies. This is in harmony with the growing social and national economic demands, and will pave the way towards the elimination of essential differences between mental and physical work.

Today, schools are also the centre of the continued education of adults. Our working people's thirst for knowledge is expressed by the fact that the number of adult students—engaged in productive work—is increasing each year. In 1959, 138,000 adults studied and their number increased to 218,000 by the 1961–62 school-year.

The socialist reorganization of the countryside has given great impetus to the education of the peasantry. Let us take the example of a village. At Felsőszentiván, Bács County, almost every adult is engaged in some sort of study or takes regularly part in some form of education. There are more than fifty adults in the village who attend the workers' evening classes, almost thirty persons study in agricultural vocational schools, and seven are attending universities. The chairman of the local council, presidents, party secretaries, and brigade leaders of the cooperative farms are all among those studying. During the Horthy regime such a number of cultured men and people who continued studying could not be found in a hundred villages put together!

Weighing the requirements resulting from the progress of society, the Seventh Congress set the goal of instituting a school reform. A broad public discussion was held on the reform project debated on a wide scale, with the participation of experts, teachers and parents. The fundamental aim of the reform, i.e. education for work, has been accepted by Hungarian society. We are pleased to see that work, the vital element of our society, has finally been injected into our schools and has become a pedagogic factor. As a result of educational work in the schools, the political and moral attitude of Hungarian youth

has undergone a favourable change. Discipline in study has been consolidated, political interest has grown, and so has the esteem for physical labour. Our young people are honest, industrious, wholesome in their thinking, and loyal to their homeland.

Speedy socialist construction demands that our universities and colleges give the country each year a growing number of communist experts with an up-to-date training. This year already a great number of technical schools on a higher level have been set up to accelerate the training of specialists. But even more must be spent on the development of higher education and improving its material basis. It is especially our technical universities that are still grappling with problems. Some of the ministries concerned and many of our company managers do not seem to understand that the development of the institutions of higher education, the up-to-date training of specialists are among the most important prerequisites for raising production, for technical progress and for increasing productivity. The departmental ministries, the factories and social organizations should give every possible assistance, modern instruments and equipment, skilled and experienced specialists, and, last but not least, talented students should be sent to the universities.

The number of university and college students must be further increased, especially in the institutions of higher education training technical experts and educationalists. There are great and untapped possibilities in the further widening of evening and correspondence school courses. Much bolder initiatives must be taken in the setting up of evening extension courses of technical universities in collaboration with big plants and factories, similarly to the Csepel evening extension courses of the Technical University of Budapest.

In addition to this rapid development of public education a whole network of extramural courses of public education has come into being and progressed speedily—especially so far as cultural homes and libraries are concerned. Our people's eagerness to study has called into existence new educational institutions as, for instance, the lecture courses arranged for workers and cooperative farmers. Interest in lectures on ideology, lectures adding to people's special knowledge and giving them a greater appreciation of literature and the arts has considerably increased. Educational lectures in the factories and the villages were

attended by more than four million people in 1958, and by more than seven million in 1961.

Extramural public education should promote the spreading of fundamental knowledge, the fight against petty-bourgeois views, habits and tastes, the deepening of the ideas of socialist patriotism and international solidarity, and the consolidation of the new community morals and way of life. It should also promote the development of the national economy, the training of workers and cooperative farmers; spread the latest achievements of the technical and agricultural sciences. Lenin pointed out that, in addition to ensuring the material basis of socialist industry, there is another condition for enhancing the productivity of labour, namely: "... the raising of the educational and cultural level of the masses of the population. This is taking place extremely rapidly, which those who are blinded by bourgeois routine are unable to see; they are unable to understand what an urge towards light and initiative is now developing among the lower ranks of the people."*

The role of science has extraordinarily increased in the life of society. It becomes more and more a direct productive force, and plays a significant part in shaping social consciousness and in raising the standards of general knowledge. After Liberation, and especially during the past six years, scientific research in our country has greatly developed.

According to data from the end of 1961, scientific research work was carried on by 132 independent research institutes, 665 university departments and by 127 other research agencies. Material support for research work is continually increasing. While in 1960, 1,467 million forints were expended in Hungary on scientific research, this sum rose to more than 2,000 million forints in the plan for 1962.

With the participation of more than two thousand scientists and research workers a nation-wide long-term plan of scientific research has been drafted, the principal aim of which is to promote better planning and organization of scientific activities in this country. This requires that the funds allocated for scientific purposes—which are annually increasing—must be much more rationally used and divided

* Lenin, V. I., *Selected Works*. Volume II. New York, 1943, p. 326.

more purposefully among the various branches and institutions of science.

In the opinion of our party, the long-term scientific research plan must be better coordinated with the long-term development programme of the national economy, and the material and intellectual resources of science in this country must be concentrated on the solution of subsequent tasks. In the sphere of science, too, an expedient practice of cooperation and of division of labour among the socialist countries will have to be worked out. A sound proportion between fundamental and applied research will have to be established and their coordination ensured. It would be advisable to examine whether the present organization and the present-day system of guidance and control of research institutes corresponds to the requirements of the development of science and the national economy.

The alliance between science and socialism is a fundamental element of our revolution. The very practice of socialism is based on scientific theory, and socialism cannot be realized without science backing it up; and only under the conditions of socialist society can science actually get a green light towards development. Only under the conditions of socialist society is the prerequisite present for every promising worker of scientific research to develop; only then can the achievements of scientific research be put into practice without hindrance.

Comrades,

In the past three years we have attained successes in literature and the arts, too; the camp of artists adhering to the ideals of socialism, fighting for it with conviction and assuming for it social responsibility, has been consolidated. There is a flourishing life and creative work in every branch of the arts, in the fine arts, music, literature and the theatre.

Encouraging signs of growing interest in public affairs are manifest in Hungarian belles-lettres, in the increasing number of literary reports and newspaper stories. A young generation of artists and writers—both talented and ideologically firm—has come to the fore and is forging ahead. We support the authors, artists and critics who fight for a healthy atmosphere in literary and artistic life and who cour-

ageously carry on an ardent struggle against aspirations and endeavours alien to socialist art. Our artist and writers serve our socialism-building people with the authentic and partisan representation of the quickly changing life in this country.

Demands for high-standard literature, art and films have, however, grown at an even greater pace. In recent years, our people have become more exacting, more responsive to everything good and beautiful. This is shown by the growth in book sales, by the attendance figures for good plays and films, the growing number of visitors to museums and art exhibitions, and of radio and TV subscribers.

It is the ideological character, the message, the socialist content that, in every artistic work, is the most important thing for the party and the people. We expect works of art in which the processes of our society are reflected correctly and on a high artistic level, and whose hero is a community man building socialism. Works of art must live up to their noble mission: help the education of socialist man. The artist should seek for the form of expression best suited to him.

So far as form is concerned, the party is against deciding debates on style by regulations or administrative measures. We put an end, long ago and definitively, to the practice which restricted creative activities in a subjective way. But the arts cannot oppose the forward march and the laws of social development. Artists must be aware of the fact that socialism is the ideology of the masses, and he who appeals to the masses must find the way to the thoughts and feelings of the working millions.

The party took reality as its starting point when, in the Congress Directives, it stated that our literary and artistic life is yet devoid of ideological unity. There are still groups of diverse ideological outlook today. Besides art and literature of socialist realism, every other well-disposed artistic activity will be granted scope. The statement, however, that the socialist ideological unity in our artistic life has not yet evolved and consolidated, does not mean acquiescence or ideological compromise by the party.

We are convinced of the superiority of socialist literature; we shall, therefore, do our utmost to promote literature and art of socialist realism. We shall help the ideological transformation of creative artists who do not yet profess the socialist world outlook. We do not need

formal unity. Real unity can be brought about only on a basis of principle, with unflinching persuasive work, in consistent ideological battle against views and conceptions opposed to or divergent from Marxism. There is not and there cannot be peaceful coexistence in the ideological sphere.

The foremost task of our policy in the arts is to promote the development of a high-standard socialist art of persuasive force, to lead an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois vestiges and against decadent, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views infiltrating from the capitalist world.

Outstanding results have been achieved in the cultural elevation of our people. In our society, however, requirements are growing at a very rapid pace. It is the honourable task of scientists and artists, of workers in cultural and public education, in full concord with the people, to make the life of men and women in this country more beautiful, more noble and prosperous, to take an active part in their particular spheres in that great work of our people: to complete the building of a socialist society.

V

THE QUESTIONS OF PARTY WORK. OUR PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

I shall now concern myself with questions of the party and party activity.

In the past few years the party membership has undertaken the lion's share of the great work and complex struggles in the socialist reorganization of agriculture, in production, the enrichment and propagation of socialist culture, in carrying out our policy; it worked and struggled on all fronts of socialist construction in an exemplary fashion. Party policy is being realized through the deeds of the working millions, who are organized and led on the path of socialist construction by the communists.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the vanguard of the working class armed with Marxist-Leninist theory. The party is not an end in itself; it represents and serves the ideals and aspirations of the working class whose immediate and long-range aims are identical with the interests of the entire working people. Ever since its foundation more than four decades ago, the party has considered service to the working class and the working people its one and only task. The ties between the party and the masses are today close, the party works at the head of the people, with the people, and for the people, leading it in the struggle for the complete building of socialism.

With progress in socialist construction the role of the party increases, because the economic and cultural tasks are growing in number and complexity, and also the political struggles assume ever more an ideological character. The socialist unity of our society, the cooperation of the whole people, its moral and political unity in building socialism can only be brought about under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the working class.

The paramount question is the correctness of the general party line. It is the conviction of the Central Committee that in the activities of our party, the victorious Marxist-Leninist ideology and communist policy prevail. The Leninist norms of party life, democratic centralism and collective leadership are being implemented in our party life.

The systematized anomalies of the personality cult were eradicated in the very first days of the reorganization of the party; from the outset we kept the Rákosi clique away from the party and the country's political life.

Since then the Leninist principle of collective leadership again prevails in the highest leading bodies of our party. In the last six years on all questions which had to be decided by the Central Committee or the government, it was the Central Committee or the government that reached the decision and not the Political Committee or a more exclusive cabinet; what had to be decided by the Political Committee *was* decided by the Political Committee and not by the Secretariat; and what had to be decided by the Secretariat *was* decided by the Secretariat and not by an individual. The principle of collective leadership prevails in all our party bodies; this does not exclude but pre-

supposes the personal responsibility of all those filling party functions. And the Leninist norms of party life also prevail when differences of opinion inside the party have to be solved.

Our experiences once again confirm the Marxist principle that the cult of personality is alien to socialism and contrary to it, and not an inevitable product of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Rákosi clique eliminated collective leadership from the party and distorted party policy, but the party itself did not degenerate and with its fundamental activities promoted socialist construction even after 1949. The tyranny of the Rákosi clique jeopardized the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it could not change the social character of the socialist system, of the people's power. The cult of personality in our party has been relegated to the past once and for all, because we declared and waged a consistent struggle against it. This consistency means that we have avoided pseudo-solutions, have drawn all political and personal consequences involved; it means that we have adhered to Marxist–Leninist ideals.

There have been and still are persons who—from the "Left"—tried to spread the belief that the open and unambiguous elimination of the cult of personality was harmful to the cause of socialism; there have been and still are some who—from the Right, using the false slogans of fighting against "Stalinism" and "Rákosism"—wish to turn the criticism of the cult of personality against the socialist system and the party. But the evidence of reality is stronger than any misconception and false accusation, any illusion or supposition. The policy of the Rákosi clique created a favourable soil for traitors and the class enemy, and pushed the country to the brink of counter-revolution. Freed from the cult of personality, the party and the working class led the masses to defend and consolidate working-class power and the socialist revolution.

In August, 1962, the Central Committee wound up a question which had long been left open: the matter of the unlawful trials against members of the working-class movement in the years of the personality cult. The decision met with understanding and approval by the party membership, by the public opinion of the country and by the international working-class movement.

Still, I have to mention briefly at this Congress why we placed this

question on the agenda in August. First of all because the memory of Comrade László Rajk, of Comrades Tibor Szőnyi, András Szalai, György Pálffy, László Sólyom and others, who fell victim to arbitrary rule in the years of the personality cult, has to be placed in all its purity before public opinion at home and abroad; and so that in the future we can commemorate our comrades, who fell victim to the arbitrary rule of the personality cult, on their merits, and fittingly evaluate their wonderful record in the working-class movement.

Secondly, it was necessary so that we could rehabilitate those of our comrades who, in the years of the personality cult, were victimized, innocently accused or punished, should this through some mistake or other not yet have taken place. We had to make good all that could be made up for in connexion with the unlawful trials staged at the time of the personality cult.

We had to deal with this question also so that we could call to political account and expel from the party Rákosi, Gerő and others, who bear the chief political responsibility for the trials conducted at the time of the personality cult.

Every point of the August resolution was designed to serve as a further guarantee that the infringement of socialist rule of law, the trampling underfoot of party democracy could never again be repeated in the life of our party or in the history of our country. It was only with the radical uprooting of the personality cult and the restoration and strengthening of socialist rule of law that our party became capable of worthily living up to its vanguard role indispensable in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. It is one of the party's most important tasks to keep a watchful eye in the future, too, on the socialist rule of law.

Comrades,

The source of our party's successful work is that it maintained the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the two-front struggle against dogmatism and revisionism. Revisionism and sectarian dogmatism have suffered an irrevocable historical defeat in the Hungarian communist movement. For our party the struggle on two fronts is not a tactical slogan, but a permanent task which follows from the essence of Marxism-Leninism. In the present period, too, we must keep

vigilant watch on any signs of revisionism, dogmatism, and the spirit of conciliation towards them, and we must overcome them. We must keep in mind that these trends adapt themselves to the changed situation and do not appear in the same "pure" form as five or six years ago.

The dogmatic-sectarian view and outlook today hamper and impede progress mainly because it is at a loss to comprehend the needs of socialist development of society, and because it calls us to account for slogans that were once timely, but have since become obsolete. This outlook conflicts with our party's policy of alliance, and instead of promoting the growth of a homogeneous socialist peasant class, it proclaims the "class struggle" in the cooperative farms between former poor peasants, former middle peasants and former kulaks. The danger of this outlook and approach is further increased by the fact that it is related to the bad vestiges of the personality cult and is also connected with the pseudo-revolutionary, anti-Marxist evaluation of the international situation.

Revisionism has not sounded the retreat either; just as six years ago it resorted to falsifying the Twentieth Congress, so now it is trying to justify itself by distorting the Twenty-Second Congress. The revisionists are falsifying our policy of alliance in an opportunist way. They stand for alliance without ideological struggle; they deny the vanguard role of the working class and its party in the alliance, and reject the aim of the alliance—the complete building of socialism. They are trying to reconcile Marxism with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies.

Even the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, its creative application and correct policy could lead to great victories only because our party had become steeled in the struggle and was united. Unity is not a formal question. Unity does not preclude but presupposes the manysided discussion of questions, and the opportunity to voice diverse opinions in debate. The unity of our party means that the party passes resolutions after thorough and exhaustive debate, which are then binding on all, and in the implementation of which strict discipline must prevail.

It did occur in the last six years that the divergence of opinions finally led to a break. In the case of four former Central Committee

members the controversy took on such a form and character that finally it came to a rupture between them and the Central Committee. In none of the cases did the Central Committee take the initiative. But when disagreement on principle occurred, and those who held this false approach and attitude—due to Right or "Left" distortion or perhaps personal vanity—came into opposition with the main line and organizational order of the party, the Central Committee did not hesitate but acted in the interest of the party and the people. There is no one to whom the party can make concessions on points of principle. Our Marxist-Leninist ideas, the policy and unity of the party are more important to us than anything else.

By applying Marxism-Leninism in a creative way, our party policy has supplied the answer to such complex problems as the interconnection between class struggle and class alliance, the struggle against the counter-revolution and socialist consolidation, and problems of the socialist reorganization of agriculture.

In the past few years the theoretical working groups of the party prepared the directives of cultural policy, laid down the position taken towards the ideology of the "populist" writers, the comprehensive document on the situation in literature since Liberation, the theses on the struggle against nationalism, on partisanship in philosophical work, and studies on the tasks of literary criticism. The achievements of socialist construction work were at the same time the successes of Marxist-Leninist theory, for they proved the correctness of the theory in practice.

When examining the favourable conditions of the spread of Marxism we have to state that our ideological work is still lagging behind social progress, behind the possibilities and demands. The ideological offensive of Marxism is the imperative necessity of the whole of socialist construction work. The victory over bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, the socialist transformation of social consciousness, is the indispensable condition and component of the complete victory of socialism. The socialist national unity of our people can wax in strength only if the ideological and moral unity of society comes into being step by step on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The strengthening of political alliance, the development of socialist national unity, presupposes and ideological struggle makes it imperative.

Nor can we be oblivious of the fact that the contemporary existence of the capitalist and socialist world systems, the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, is tantamount to an ideological struggle, its contents being the struggle between socialist and bourgeois ideologies.

Lenin's words are still valid today: "...the only choice is: either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course..."* Now, when a direct assault on the socialist system does not hold out hopes of success, when more sober capitalist politicians even think it hopeless right from the start, the imperialists are trying, in addition to war threats, to exert greater pressure on the socialist countries on the economic and ideological plane as well.

In the present stage of our development the political struggle also frequently takes the form of an ideological one. The fight against the ideological vestiges of capitalism and the infiltration of imperialist ideas is class struggle, too. This struggle, however, is not waged against working people under bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence, but for their very benefit against those who actually express the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The Central Committee devoted appropriate attention to the ideological training of the party membership and party sympathizers. Each year altogether 4,500 attend various types of party schools. The evening courses at the Marxist-Leninist universities with 12,000 students fill an important role. This year 620,000 are attending various party courses outside schools; 340,000 young people are studying Marxism–Leninism under the auspices of the Communist Youth Union. Almost 50 per cent of those attending party courses are non-party people.

The growth of our party's organizational strength is also sound. At present, we have 17,396 party branches, and in more than 97 per cent of the cooperative farms party organizations have been formed.

The party membership (including candidate members) was 511,965 on September 1 of this year, an increase of 77,000 since the Seventh Congress. It should be noted that 38 per cent of the membership joined the party since the completion of the reorganization, May 1,

* Lenin, V. I., *Selected Works*. Volume II. New York, 1943, p. 62.

1957. This, too, shows the drawing power of the party. The general level of education of the party membership has improved; 21 per cent of the membership has higher schooling, that is to say, 68,500 passed matriculation examinations and 38,500 graduated from universities and colleges. Two hundred and fifty-eight scientists, 8,500 engineers, 12,500 technicians, 3,000 agronomists and more than 16,500 teachers are members of the party.

We can report to the Congress that the circulation of the party press is also increasing. At present the circulation of the party daily, *Népszabadság*, is 707,000, that is 100,000 higher than at the time of the Seventh Congress. Our theoretical periodical, *Társadalmi Szemle*, is appearing in 35,000 copies and the party's official organizational journal, *Pártélet*, in 100,000 copies. The Hungarian edition of the periodical published in conjunction with the fraternal parties, *Peace and Socialism*, numbers 17,000.

The growing number of radio and TV subscribers and the great demand for published matter is proof of the political maturity and interest of our people. Furthermore, it also shows that the standard of the radio, TV and the press has improved, and their staff is helping the party and keeping pace with the tasks posed by progress. Now there will be need for the journalists to continue improving their ideological knowledge and professional routine; it is up to them to improve still further the standard, scope and versatility of their agitational and propaganda work.

Comrades,

The essence of the party's activity is to propagate the ideas of socialism, to organize and mobilize the masses for solving the tasks involved in building socialism. Realization of party policy depends on the men who are entrusted with doing the job and directing the work of others. That is why the training and correct selection of cadres is so vital. The situation in this field is sound. Secrecy has been done away with and the party organizations are forming an opinion of people with growing circumspection, devoid of prejudice and stereotyping.

While keeping on record credits earned in the past and their continued high esteem, in cadre work the aptitude for a certain job has

been given emphasis now. Apart from ideological and political training, those concerned with cadre work must always be on guard that even decent people, after working well for long periods, avoid the pitfalls of the lure of personal popularity, conceit and arbitrariness. The best preventive also in this respect is the sound style of work which evolved in the party during the last few years.

Nowadays party decisions are prepared in discussions based on the profound study of reality; the party organs consult the communists, non-party working people and experts. In party work, general political principles are applied ever more in the concrete knowledge of problems, and phrases that have nothing to do with reality and the method of appeals limited to generalities are done away with.

The essential feature of the party's style of work continues to be that all members and party functionaries must maintain a close and live contact with the working masses. This is an essential prerequisite for effective party work. To live like a communist means that consistency of principle goes hand in hand with concern for the everyday worries of the working people and with humanism. We demand that communist leaders be modest, self-sacrificing and unselfish in service to the community.

The autonomy of elected organs inside the party has been developed, but it needs to be further strengthened. This is the best safeguard against work becoming bureaucratic. In the last few years the Central Committee itself has considerably reduced the number and length of its own resolutions. In its work the Central Committee reckons with, and to a great extent relies on, the independent, responsible work of the intermediary party organs, such as the Budapest Party Committee and the County Party Committees. This autonomy asserts itself more or less in the work of all party organs.

A healthy sign in the development of party life is the activity of voluntary committees, party workers and activitists, many of them non-party people, who are working with the leading organs on all levels.

A healthy atmosphere has been created in party life. The people are outspoken, they argue and criticize freely. It is all the more conspicuous and condemnable that in various posts, chiefly in the state and economic administration, there can still be found communist

leaders who employ methods of work alien to the spirit of party policy and the style of work of the party. Such people are overbearing, order others about unnecessarily, stifle criticism, and even revenge themselves for it. An unswerving struggle must be waged against such symptoms inside the party and in all other aspects of life as well. Let us guard over the purity of party life and all aspects of public activity; let us stimulate discussion and safeguard freedom of criticism.

The work of all party organizations enjoys the assistance of public opinion, the direct support of the working people. Each year tens of thousands of letters and verbal reports on matters of public interest reach party and state agencies, editorial offices and the radio. These letters contain, sometimes in the form of a personal grievance, but very often quite apart from direct interest, observations of shortcomings noticed in the work of our institutions or the abuses of power by certain leaders.

It is the elementary duty of our party organizations and public institutions to examine with the utmost circumspection such reports and comments and to remedy the mistakes that do in fact exist. Our party must see to it that the working people who criticize the mistakes verbally or in writing are given complete protection; immediate action with the utmost vigour must be taken against those who suppress criticism. But "stabbing in the back," slander and intrigue have to be eradicated. In future our party and state agencies must not start proceedings against anyone without good cause, for instance on the basis of anonymous letters and reports.

Comrades,

In accordance with the healthy style of work evolved in the party, the Central Committee follows the method in practice of not passing party resolutions which are obligatory for state institutions, mass organizations, cultural organizations or other autonomous leading organs. In these fields the party vindicates its ideological and political leading role by the fact that its resolutions are binding on party members working in these agencies, and they have to work for the implementation of party resolutions by means of conviction and argumentation. This guarantees the party's ideological and political role of guidance, the united and disciplined stand of party members in

implementing party resolutions, as well as the autonomy of state organs, mass organizations, cultural and other agencies and movements.

The Central Committee has made public its proposals to amend the Party Rules. The new Party Rules reflect the great social and political changes which have taken place in our country with the laying of the foundations of socialism.

Our purpose in amending the Party Rules has been to enhance the rights and duties of party members in harmony with the development of the party and the socialist transformation of our society, and in order to make greater moral demands on the communists. This aim is served by those points in the articles of the Party Rules, dealing with the rights and duties of party members, which make it the obligation of party members to set an example by the way they work and live, and to work so that the ties between the party and the masses continuously develop and grow in strength.

The draft contains further guarantees to safeguard the right to criticism. That is why the procedure of party disciplinary action has been amended.

The amendments concerning greater democracy in party life concern the election by Congress of the members of the Central Control Commission, furthermore, that the three leading party organs elected by Congress, namely the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Committee and the Central Control Commission, should discuss vital political and organizational questions and those concerning individuals at a joint session. At such meetings the members of all three party organs have equal rights and equal votes.

The more rational organization of work is promoted by the proposal that the Party Congress and Party Conferences should be convened every four years, instead of every three years as hitherto. Thereby the life of the party and the state—the Party Congress, parliamentary and local council elections—will be in much better harmony.

The Party Rules are tantamount to the law of inner party life, which regulates and gives institutional form to the Leninist norms of party life, protects and strengthens the ideological-political and organizational unity of our party membership.

Comrades,

The mighty pillars of the party are the mass organizations and mass movements.

The report has already mentioned the Patriotic People's Front movement. The pillars and auxiliaries of the party are the trade unions, the Communist Youth Union, the National Association of Cooperatives, the National Council of Hungarian Women, the Association of Hungarian Pioneers, the Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge, the Federation of Technical and Scientific Societies, the National Peace Council, the Hungarian–Soviet Friendship Society, the physical culture and sports movement, the Hungarian National Defence Sports Association, the Hungarian Red Cross and other mass organizations and movements.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, and in its work it naturally relies primarily upon the largest organization of the working class, the trade unions, with a present membership of 2,700,000. The trade unions carry an important role in the labour emulation movement, particularly in organizing and leading the socialist brigade movement. It is the trade unions that promote the active participation of workers, staff personnel and professionals in economic management and in tapping the latent reserves of factories and enterprises. The trade unions must devote themselves to improving the working people's living and working conditions, and promote their vocational training and political education.

The party's youth organization, the Communist Youth Union, has 708,000 members; the pioneer movement operating under its leadership comprises 800,000 children. The Communist Youth Union is living up to its calling. Here are a few indicative figures to show how effectively the communist youth movement has worked, to show up the true value of our youth: the "Youth for Socialism" movement has recruited altogether 800,000 young people. In agriculture 97,000 young people have joined various production competitions, among them 10,000 young tractor drivers are in socialist competition. As many as 240,000 young workers are taking part in the thrift drive launched by the Communist Youth Union in productive enterprises. In the first six months of 1962, 580,000 young people did altogether eight

million hours of volunteer work. This all goes to show how often our industrious, patriotic youth is run down unjustly, in a perfunctory way.

The physical culture and sports movement, which was recently turned into a mass organization, is developing soundly. Apart from the hundreds of thousands that are pursuing sports regularly, last year 1,200,000 people took part in various sport activities. The development of physical culture and sports continues to be an important task, which contributes to protecting the health of the rising generation and the adult population, to enhancing their work capacity and their useful and cultured recreation.

Important and successful work is being carried on by the women's councils under the aegis of the National Council of Hungarian Women. They are doing their share in political work, production, in solving various social problems, and in the peace movement. Political work among women continues to be of great importance and will continue to be so until the women's equality laid down by law becomes complete in practice, too, and actual equality exists.

When speaking of mass organizations and mass movements, it is gratifying to note that the consensus of party opinion regards work in the mass organizations not as some secondary task, but on a par with work performed in the party. The great importance and weight of party work carried out in the mass organizations and mass movements is indicated by the impact it has on the work of a significant number of non-party people.

In the trade unions 30 per cent of the 435,000 activists are party members; 5 per cent of the 700,000 Communist Youth Union membership, 40 per cent of the 105,000 local council members, and 26 per cent of the 127,555 members of the Patriotic People's Front committees are party members. The overwhelming majority of the 400,000 people who have joined the wonderful new mass movement, the socialist brigade movement, are non-party people. All this goes to show that there has been tremendous growth in the number of sympathizers rallied round the party, of people who are championing with complete devotion and activeness the truth of socialism, and are working in an exemplary fashion for the realization of the socialist ideals.

Talking of our party, mention must be made of the fact that the

process of unification has been completely and definitively concluded. On the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism and in the fire of the struggle to realize party policy, our party membership has been forged together. In the midst of the daily cares and joys of party work or in all forms of personal contact there is no trace and no one keeps count of who in the party belonged to the Communist or Social-Democratic Party before unification. Today the comrades in our party are distinguished merely by their work, the way they behave, how active they are, and to what degree they are suitable for a certain job. This is as it should be and this is to be welcomed. Today, in the normal course of party work, we are aware of the beneficial effect of the great historic victory, namely, that the two parties of the Hungarian working class have been united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and —today we can rightfully say—have grown into a united party that is communist both in spirit and in its methods of work.

The Hungarian people rally to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party with confidence. Our party is living up to its historic mission: to lead with a sure hand the Hungarian people for the complete construction of socialism, in the struggle for communism.

Comrades,

Our party is a Marxist-Leninist party adhering to proletarian internationalism. We regard it as our foremost internationalist duty to strive for the further consolidation of the unity of the international communist movement and the complete construction of socialist society in our country.

The cornerstone of the unity of the international working-class movement is Marxism-Leninism, which welds together the communist and workers' parties. In the international working-class movement the parties are now completely equal. The tasks of the common international struggle are laid down by consultations of the communist and workers' parties held from time to time. These consultations at all times carefully analyse the international situation and, as part of this, the joint tasks of the revolutionary working-class parties. Resolutions passed jointly are binding on all parties. That is how the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party regards the resolutions passed at the meetings held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960.

The resolutions passed at these two meetings of the communist and workers' parties supply the directives in principle, which are obligatory for us, for the international activities of our party. It is in the spirit of these resolutions that we are waging our struggle against revisionism, which is a threat to the interests of the international workers' movement both at home and in the international sphere. We condemned and still condemn the revisionist theses of the last Congress of the Federation of Yugoslav Communists, just as we condemn revisionist phenomena wherever they may crop up in the international workers' movement.

We condemn dogmatic, sectarian trends as alien to Marxism–Leninism, trends no less harmful than revisionism. We combat and oppose them both in our own country and in the international workers' movement. It follows that we profoundly condemn the dissentient Enver Hoxha and his followers, and all the dogmatic-sectarian symptoms making their appearance in other parties of the international communist movement. We do not agree with those who, referring to the Joint Moscow Declaration, disapprove of the necessary and correct communist criticism that was inevitably levelled at Enver Hoxha and his group while, at the same time, defending and supporting those who from Tirana are directing abusive slanders against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and against quite a number of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, our party—the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—among them.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party regards the relationship towards the great party founded by Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, towards the first worker-peasant state, the Soviet Union, as the criterion of internationalism. Since the rise of Lenin, since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the coming into existence of the Soviet state, the internationalists in all countries of the globe have rallied around the Soviet Union, and it was always the Soviet Union that was attacked as the prime enemy by the imperialists, the renegades and adventurist elements of the international workers' movement.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party expresses its solidarity with the statements of international validity of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union. In this respect we adhere to the declaration issued by the 1960 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which states with full justification:

"The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. are not only of great importance for the C.P.S.U. and communist construction in the Soviet Union but have initiated a new stage in the world communist movement and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism . . ."

Today more than ever, the unity of the world communist movement is the vital interest of socialist revolution. This unity does not only mean common aims and common ideals, but also common action in the international sphere, in the paramount questions of the revolutionary movement. The disruption of unity can benefit only our enemies, who have pinned their hopes on the disintegration of communism. The representatives of reaction have been nursing these hopes for a hundred years, but without avail. Lenin wrote more than forty years ago about how Bolshevism was shaped and developed in the two-front struggle, against petty-bourgeois opportunism and petty-bourgeois revolutionarism, i.e. "left-wing communism." This is also the law of development of the international communist movement.

We place unswerving trust in the truths of Marxism-Leninism, in the fact that the international communist movement will win complete victory over the erroneous ideas of revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism. We are convinced that the strength and unity of the international communist movement will continue to grow and become consolidated on the basis of the triumphant ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

With this I conclude the report of the Central Committee. I ask the Congress to approve the activities of the Central Committee, to adopt the report. And above all, on behalf of the Central Committee I ask this Party Congress to approve and confirm the main political line followed by our party so far, so that our party and people may advance, as till now, without a break, vacillation or deviation on the path that has been proven right towards new victories.

Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee I submit to Congress a supplementary draft amendment to the Congress Directives published in August. I ask you to discuss the political document formulated from both and to pass it by resolution as the Directives of the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. On behalf of the Central Committee I submit the amending and supplementary proposal to the Draft Party Rules published. I ask you to discuss the draft and to pass it by resolution.

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

I am deeply convinced that our Eighth Congress, having thoroughly discussed the documents, reports and proposals before it, will pass the appropriate resolutions and will satisfactorily solve its historic task. I am convinced that the Congress will give new impetus to our party activities, to the creative labours of our people, and to the building of socialism in our country.

Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party!

Long live our Eighth Party Congress!

Long live the Hungarian working people and the Hungarian People's Republic!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live communism and peace!

CLOSING REMARKS AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

November 24, 1962

Delegates to this Congress, Dear Comrades,

The discussion on the Report of the Central Committee and of the Central Auditing Committee was, in my opinion, one of principles, and at the same time concrete and on a high level. The discussion at our Congress expressed the agreement of the delegates with the main line of the party, it expressed the unity of the half a million Hungarian communists concerning the policy of our party.

Many favourable and good things happened during these few days at our Congress, and outside the walls of this building, from the point of view of the struggle of our party. New pledges have been made, new labour brigades, a host of brigades vying for the socialist title, have been formed. Groups of working people decided at many places to organize, in honour of our Congress, special shifts, making socialist pledges.

Thousands of meetings and spontaneous gatherings held during the period of our Congress expressed, in a diversity of forms, agreement with the policy of our party, the readiness of the masses of the Hungarian working people to make efforts for the implementation and for the strengthening of this policy.

Delegates to this Congress,

You no doubt remember that three years ago, during the Seventh Congress of our party, our party membership, our working class, the masses expressed the desire that there should be no change in the policy of the party, that the party should continue with its policy

which had been elaborated during the period preceding the Seventh Congress. Now at the Eighth Congress of our party we can state that this expectation gave way to a certainty. Those in agreement with us are not only expecting the Eighth Congress to reaffirm the main line of our party, but are certain that it will be done.

Comrade Sugatagi, representing the socialist brigade of the Gábor Áron Foundry and Machine Factory, told us that already at the Seventh Congress a member of their brigade had taken the floor to express his agreement with the line of the party. Comrade Sugatagi now reported on how the solemn pledge made by their socialist brigade at the Seventh Congress had been carried out. He who has an inkling about work in the foundries knows well what it means when the socialist brigade reduced foundry rejects from 6 per cent—which is incidentally not even the worst in this line—to less than one per cent.

This is an outstanding achievement of socialist labour. Comrade Sugatagi also said he was not sure that he himself would be representing their brigade at the Ninth Congress of the party, but by then they would like to report that the entire workshop, perhaps even the entire factory, had acquired the title of Socialist Workshop or Socialist Factory.

This statement also expresses the certainty, the deep conviction, that there will be no essential change in our policy. The main characteristic of this policy is that it is founded on Marxist-Leninist principles; it is an undistorted communist policy. We must preserve the essence and the main trend of this policy.

Our party membership, our working class, our working people are convinced that this policy is unchanged, that it is vigorous and always corresponds to the objectives of our people. This is best proven by the steadfastness of our people.

Comrades,

In the last three years it was the Hungarian working class from among the labouring classes that shouldered the main burden. It demonstrated such a wonderful and heroic—for the word "heroic" is in place here—example of steadfastness, of which we can be truly proud before our fellow workers throughout the world.

The tasks solved by the Hungarian people in the three years that have elapsed since the last Congress, and the main burden of which

was shouldered by the Hungarian working class—as I want to stress over and over again—are the source of wonderful successes. It is no secret to you, or to the country and the world, that our party and people had to overcome a host of difficulties after the counter-revolution; the questions put on the agenda by general development had to be solved simultaneously with the re-establishment of elementary order, the consolidation of the people's democratic system, and the elementary consolidation of the national economy.

When we say that we have laid the foundations of socialism, that the socialist reorganization of Hungarian agriculture has been completed, then we think also of discussion and agitation—very often long and patient agitation—but really and truly the historical importance of success can be judged in its entirety only from a great perspective. Although the socialist reorganization of the countryside is successful, and the Hungarian peasantry deserves all esteem for its great, heroic work, yet it is still correct to put the prime stress on the Hungarian working class, because the fraternal toiling peasant class was led to the correct path by the revolutionary party and consciousness of the working class, which helped the peasantry to create for itself the basis of its new, socialist life.

Other questions, other tasks have been mentioned, among them the modernization of the equipment of our armed forces. This is not a small matter either. We modernized the organization and equipment of the army, and much of the burden presented by this task is likewise being borne by the Hungarian working class.

The staunchness of the peasantry also well expresses its agreement with party policy, the conviction of the peasantry that this policy is good and covers a long period of time. In this question the circumstances are not immaterial either. Our peasant brothers broke with almost all earlier forms of their life, with customs and working methods that had become ingrained for many generations, when they chose the socialist path. And as far as the work of our peasantry over the last two years is concerned, when they had to struggle against this accursed drought as well, our Congress can only recall this in terms of deepest appreciation. Despite the drought, the average yields are passable. Braving this stupefying drought, the peasantry worked hard. We may say that, although the devil took away our hopes for a good

crop this year, the way our peasantry adapted itself to large-scale socialist farming, the way it chose its leaders and the way it was working, is worth much more than one year's crop. This is a great and sure guarantee for the future. If our peasantry safeguards and strengthens this spirit in its work, this harmony and this noble—we may well say: socialist—aspiration, then our plans for the development of agriculture will be fulfilled in turn, one by one, and earlier than expected.

Having spoken of the staunchness of the working class and the peasantry, I have actually spoken about the steadfastness of a considerable majority of the Hungarian intelligentsia, too, for wherever production is going on, intellectual workers are also present. We may well say that their majority has been working shoulder to shoulder with our working class and peasants, consciously, enthusiastically and full of confidence, and they may feel proud of the results attained.

The Hungarian people's calm conduct in critical situations must be mentioned as an important fact indicating its agreement with our policy and its confidence in the party. As a result of imperialist intrigues, the situation on the question of West Berlin became extremely acute and critical in August and September, 1961. And, as a consequence of the aggressive measures taken by the United States, the international situation was even more critical, even more tense in these last weeks. On both occasions, people in Hungary knew that the situation was grave. The Hungarian people stood the test magnificently, in their work, their general attitude and discipline—I might say in socialist discipline. People who in those days had the opportunity to get a sniff of the atmosphere of big and strong capitalist countries know that in those countries the tormented people were actually neurotic. Our people's attitude was splendid and gave proof of their consciousness. Think of the serious situation that prevailed on October 23, 24, and 25 of this year. People went on working calmly in the factories, in the offices and on the fields. Why? Because they have gained good experiences regarding the correct policy of our party and the international workers' movement. For one can have confidence in—as our people call it—the Khrushchov policy, in the "brains of Khrushchov and his colleagues." This is the public opinion in Hungary.

This means agreement and solidarity with the policy that we scientifically call Marxist-Leninist, a communist policy, devoid of all revisionist and dogmatic distortions.

We ought to speak also of the staunchness of our army. The life of the army, by the nature of things, is less known to the public. But those who know of the readiness and the spirit of the army will agree that our army deserves the greatest appreciation. The preparedness of the military personnel meets the high requirements demanded by modern technique. The political spirit of our army is characterized by the fact that, when last year the situation became strained on the Berlin problem, the majority of the soldiers voluntarily reported to remain in service. This year a great part of the soldiers again discussed the situation and those about to be demobilized declared they were ready to remain in the service. Quite a few volunteered to go to Cuba. This also is characteristic of the political and patriotic attitude of our army. All this taken together is convincing and indisputable proof that not only the delegates to this Congress but the whole party membership, not only the Hungarian working class but the widest masses of the labouring people, agree with and support the policy of our party. And what is also very good: they are not troubled by the idea that this policy may take a turn in some other direction.

It is our duty further to strengthen this feeling of security of the people. There will be no zigzags, no detours, nor breaks in our Marxist–Leninist policy. Our task is to consolidate, develop and apply this correct policy consistently in all spheres of life.

Comrades,

Our Congress has heard the stand taken by the delegation of over sixty fraternal parties. The representatives of our fraternal parties have stated that they consider the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party a Marxist-Leninist policy, a correct policy; they are in agreement and in solidarity with our party.

All this means for us and for our Congress that our two rightful critics, the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian people, as well as the international working class, the world-wide revolutionary communist movement, consider our policy to be a Marxist-Leninist, communist policy, a correct policy.

It has been also stated with regard to internationalism that should local and general interests conflict, then the general interests, those of the communist world movement are decisive and more important. There is no victorious communist revolution in any country which could gain strength at the expense of the world communist revolution, at the cost of weakening it. Should the world communist revolution become weaker owing to an action or decision of a certain party, the foundations of the party in question would also be shaken. One cannot strengthen the communist movement in any given country in a direction opposite to that of the world communist movement.

If we give a correct, Marxist-Leninist answer to our own party problems, to the questions of socialist construction arising in our country, this at the same time corresponds to the interests of the world communist movement. The interests conflict as a rule when the answer to the question does not correspond precisely to Marxist-Leninist principles.

The interest of our people do not conflict on a single essential problem with the interests of the international communist movement, of the world socialist system, but coincide with them.

You have heard here the representatives of our fraternal parties declare with a good heart and communist conviction that our achievements strengthen them, too. We say likewise that the achievements of the Soviet people, the Polish, Chinese, Bulgarian and any other people building socialism also strengthen our people. It is a very good thing that our main political line is and was approved not only by conviction based on our own examination of Marxism, but by the opinion of the Hungarian people and the international working class.

Finally I should like to mention, not as a decisive factor but rather as a symptom, the views about our party policy in the capitalist world.

It appears that the capitalist West, the bulwark of imperialism, has changed its tactics towards the Hungarian People's Republic in the last eighteen to twenty-four months. In the past their tactics were to boycott, isolate, eradicate, liquidate us or to ignore us outright. They then changed their tactics, probably because they realized that the old ones were no longer getting them anywhere. The new tactics, which the spokesmen of the western world have described on more

than one occasion, are to admit that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has won the support of important sections of the people. The position in Hungary is favourable as regards the atmosphere, the people's living and working conditions, and the Hungarian People's Republic is strong. They had to acknowledge this and accept it as a reality. This is a good and sensible decision on their part. Now they try to establish contact, to relax their former rigidity.

There is a certain meeting ground between their tactics and our policy. We are in favour of peaceful coexistence, normal diplomatic relations, normal trade and cultural relations, and we are in favour of travel and tourism. This is a point of contact. In reply to their tactics, we say, we accept your challenge.

In our opinion, if people compare not simply outside appearances but start to look and think about contents, it is more likely that a supporter of capitalism will become a supporter of socialism than the other way round. We believe in the victory of our ideas. In the world, today, there are about 40 million people who are members of voluntary militant communist organizations, the communist parties, the Marxist-Leninist parties. And in fact about one thousand million people are actively working at building a socialist society. Fifty years ago socialism and communism had fewer followers than today. In fifty years' time it will have more champions, not less. We are not afraid of the present tactics of the capitalists, either. We think we can hold our own in debates, too, whenever necessary. We even welcome debate, contacts, and also trade. This makes peaceful competition a little more lively, and we feel that this can do only good.

Take for instance the West European Common Market, by means of which they want to exert pressure on us. Of course, this had already been invented by the United States monopoly circles and it was called embargo. What was the result? They could not carry it through, because some of their allies did not follow suit. We on our part had to work a little better. We created and established branches of industry which had not existed earlier.

Maybe they now want to put some pressure on us by way of the Common Market, but this is not such a bad thing either, because if we look around our country and search for possibilities, and if also necessity forces us to do so, then we can work even somewhat faster.

That is the experience. We are not afraid, either of contacts or of competition. We are convinced that our system will prove its worth in this competition.

It seems that the capitalist critics generally give a positive estimate of our results. Our Congress is also occupying their attention. Western journalists were actually present on the first day. I scanned the attitudes taken by the largest western news agencies and newspapers.

I mention only some of their most important conclusions. They write that the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party started its work in a calm atmosphere. They also wrote that no sensational dramatic change could be expected. A correspondent of a large West-German news agency believed, it seems, that he would find here hairy-chested people, dressed in leopard skins and clutching big sticks in their hands, for he wrote that the attire of the delegates to this Congress showed a petty-bourgeois taste.

I should like to deal briefly with a few questions that came up in the debate. I will make my remarks brief on most of the questions, since there was no disagreement. Nevertheless it seems useful to state agreement on these points.

The first question in point is that our Congress fully agrees with the ideology of the party, namely, that we have rid our ideology of the revisionist and dogmatic distortions, that our party considers it a duty to continue the two-front struggle.

It should be stated that in our party there is full agreement with regard to condemning the distortions of the personality cult. Not only the delegates to this Congress but also our whole party membership consider it their important and principal duty to overcome all kinds of vestiges—even if only in the mentality of people—of the personality cult. The party regards it as one of the prerequisites for its victorious struggle that our party has, without compromise, uprooted the personality cult.

Another highly important fact is that our Congress approves and backs up our party's policy of alliance whose principled political foundations and purpose are the complete building of the socialist society. This is now the decisive and central question of our class struggle. All deeds promoting the complete building of socialism are deeds of the class struggle. When we shall have solved this task, the

mortal, final and last blow administered in our country to the capitalist system will be struck. This is the class-struggle task of all Hungarian communists and of the entire Hungarian working people.

I should like to say a few words about a slogan which has caused considerable stir. I am talking about the watchword, "he who is not against us is with us." The first and most important thing which must be pinpointed here in Congress, too, is that this statement is, of course, not a scientific thesis but simply a political statement—or, if you like, an agitational slogan which holds good for the relationships between people and not for their world outlook. In ideology this slogan is useless. In ideology you cannot take your choice between hostile and not so hostile. All theories that are not Marxist-Leninist are hostile, for one cannot mix or reconcile ideologies. Let me repeat that the question of who is with us and who is against us does not refer to ideology, but to relationships between people.

There were years when in our party, and not only in our party but in the communist parties in general, the militant slogan, "he who is not with us is against us," i.e. is an enemy, became widespread. We realized that we should reverse this slogan, for especially today, in this country, a situation prevails in which those who are not against us are actually, considering the essence of things, with us.

Let us take the simplest example. In the Hungarian People's Republic all people who earn their living by work—and do not spend their days and nights plotting and making bombs—go to their jobs in the morning and work there, are actually *with* us even if perhaps this is not a conscious attitude on their part; for, if in the country the general policy is good, then socialist society is being built in industry, in agriculture, in the spheres of intellectual work, and all who work are building the socialist society. Broad-mindedness in this case is good and useful because the communists—and, as a matter of fact, all more or less normal political trends—should not strive to increase the number of their enemies, or to push those people into the enemy camp who, on the strength of their position or views, could be brought into our own camp.

There are people alien to the working class and there are class enemies. These are two different concepts meaning two different things. I do not say we should hug people alien to the working class, but I do

say that even here we must make a distinction between class aliens and class enemies. For if we do not make a distinction, big mistakes can occur. For there are people alien to the working class who are not class enemies in the ordinary sense of the word; and there are people of our own class who have gone astray, who are black sheep, who are enemies. There are such people. This is not a question of numbers, but only of the fact that the ideas must be plain and clear and that we must clearly see with whom and in what way we work.

It is very important in our everyday work to differentiate, to distinguish between people.

I shall mention two examples to show what I mean by differentiating. "Horthyite officer" is a well-known concept in Hungary. The thought of this notion makes one think usually of a gentry lad who had been sent by his parents to military school, then to the Ludovika, and who subsequently became a loyal fascist officer of Horthy's. As a class category this is perfectly clear. But there are documents and files, and there is administrative work—much more than really necessary. Let us admit honestly for how many years these words, "Horthyite officer," figured on papers and documents, and if you looked at it more closely, it turned out that all men who had been mobilized during the Second World War and had been officers were pigeon-holed as "Horthyite officers." Yet even Horthyite officers must be judged individually. Everybody knows that they can be divided into at least two main categories. One is the certain Horthy officer who went to the Ludovika. The others are physicians, engineers, village schoolmasters who, at some time, had taken their final examination in secondary school, then had completed some military training course. And during the war they were called up—whether they wanted it or not—and became officers. Then, after Liberation, all were thrown into the same pot; they were registered on our files as "Horthyite officers."

This example also shows that it is necessary to differentiate, to make distinctions.

Let us take the question of social origin. I don't think this calls for much discussion. Other things quite apart, now at least our teachers will be relieved of filing the pupils according to their origins, of making up index files of sundry colours; they will have more energy left to help the worker and peasant youth in their studies.

What we have in mind is help given by society. If we were able to lead the entire peasantry with the aid of the whole society to the socialist road, why could we not appropriately assist far more youngsters of worker and peasant origin in their studies with the aid of the entire society? By handling this problem adequately, we are cutting off quite a lot of string-pulling, because this was almost indispensable at university admissions whether needed or not.

One of our university officials, who has been acting in a very proper principled and sensible way, received stacks of letters requesting pull, but he put all of them unopened into his desk drawers as they came. After the new school term opened, he received letters of thanks from about 80 per cent of his correspondents for his intervention, although he had not so much as read any of the letters.

Thus I believe it would be a very good and wise decision by the Congress to approve the respective proposal, and the party will consistently implement the resolution. The speakers were also quite right in stressing that the worker and peasant children will have to study a little harder from now on. We oppose class privileges of any kind. It would not be a wholesome procedure; it would rather ruin our youth if they now obtained privileges because of their class position that would give the "red-bloods" those privileges enjoyed in the past by the "blue-bloods."

This is not a path to follow. Those who are reluctant to abandon the old practices do not have, in my view, confidence in our worker and peasant youth. I am of the opinion that the worker and peasant youth is as intelligent, smart and gifted as children of any other origin, and if he makes up his mind to study he *will* study, and if he does so he will get the proper knowledge, too.

Many problems of socialist construction came up at the Congress. I would like to point out that I fully agree with, for instance, making scientific work more rational and better planned, with the proper distribution of the scientific themes on the domestic scale and international cooperation as outlined by our comrade Academician Lajos Jánossy. I agree also with Comrade Prieszol who has stated how good it is that today a considerable part of our research workers are bolder in making experiments. Under socialist conditions we must ensure, by determining the theme and better organization of scientific work, that

the main trend of scientific research meets the requirements of socialist construction, but it is obvious that experimentation is experimentation and research is research.

We also come across erroneous views which somewhat oppose planning in scientific work. I have heard remarks that scientific work cannot be planned. Columbus started out in a certain direction; he reached the shores somewhere without knowing where. And yet he discovered America. Maybe they are right in the case of Columbus, but I would rather take the simile of Comrade Major that the all-out supporters of free verse are mostly people unfamiliar with rhymes. The unplanned selection of themes and research are primarily preferred and claimed by those Columbuses who have not yet started out anywhere and have not discovered a thing and probably never will. The fundamental main trends of the work must be correctly laid down in scientific research and in the research institutes; not one will challenge the right to make experiments, and the right to make mistakes in the course of the implementation of the correct programme. The scientists themselves say that a considerable proportion of the 2,000 million forints allocated to scientific research or to research of a scientific character is being wasted—and two thousand million forints are not just two farthings; these sums somehow are drained away from scientific research, and this is very bad. We call for such an organization and thematic plans that the entire amount shall serve the appropriate scientific objectives.

There has been quite an insistence at our Congress on the necessity of improving economic management. We have already resolutions to this effect which have to be carried out, for instance, the reorganization of the direction of industry; others, such as the development of agricultural management, are still to be drafted. Our purchasing organization must also be improved, although there are already some good measures in this sphere, too. For instance, the representative of the cooperative farm concerned can also be present during the delivery and the qualification of the goods. They should rather argue on the spot than ship the goods to and fro while the consumers are waiting for them at the market and do not know why they are delayed.

The development of better organizational forms is also an issue. In so far as the greater responsibility of local executives is concerned,

in fact, fewer problems call for central direction, but the guidance must be more efficient and, I should add, much better than at present. Moreover, the scope of the local enterprise executives must be extended. Let me add that not all local executives are for a wider scope of their jurisdiction. There are some who dislike this because it involves greater responsibility on their part.

Several speakers urged the establishment of more industries in the provinces, last but not least to ensure jobs for women engaged in housekeeping at present who desire a work. It is only right to demand that complementary light industrial works shall be set up in the provinces even where heavy industry is present. This objective is incorporated in the Five-Year Plan. Its implementation depends on the possibilities for investment; we can proceed therefore as fast as the government has funds for investment at its disposal.

Many comrades dealt with the problems of agricultural production. This is not accidental. In industry the path for progress has been laid. In agriculture the new is in the making; strengthening socialist agriculture entails a host of tasks for the entire party, for our entire society, including industry. Today, the speedy and vigorous development of our entire national economy depends on how quickly agriculture will be raised to the level of industry. This is the decisive question for agriculture and for the entire people. The speakers dealt correctly with the tasks and the direction of our work. Our agricultural plans are clear and correct; we must work on to implement them. The new, higher, socialist form must be filled with the proper socialist content, and socialist relations of production must be strengthened. The results described by Comrade Lombos to the Congress speak for themselves. Just as the cooperative farms have been consolidated in Győr County, so will they be consolidated, step by step, in other counties, too.

Three concrete questions were raised here: should the cooperative farms cover three or four thousand *hold;* should the machine stations be abolished; and should the grain production targets be fixed in terms of quintals instead of *hold ?* I suggest that the Congress should not take a stand on either of the three questions, because not one of these can be decided by making a snap judgement. It is possible that the three-to-four-thousand-*hold* cooperative farms are more efficient and better. But the realization of it cannot be put on the order of the

day in a hurry. The peasants joined the cooperative farms two years ago; they elected their boards and became settled; and then, after a year or two, should we commence reorganizing and amalgamating again?

The same holds true for abolishing the machine stations. The Central Committee has studied and examined this question. We reached a decision—you can find it in the Five-Year Plan—that in agriculture the machine station is the main prop of mechanizing and machine work. Our efforts, however, show that the minor part of the planned machine park is going towards reinforcing the machine stations; the major part goes to the cooperative farms which have the conditions for their proper utilization.

The Central Committee is not approving the grain plan fixed in terms of quintals either, and is not recommending it to the Congress for approval.

I should like to touch briefly upon the questions of the arts and literature.

Comrade Darvas said that our writers, too, are taking a stand for the cause of the people. I think we can accept that; that is the truth. It is a good and heartening thing. To take up a firm position for socialism and the people is a demand and a requirement. This is right and this is what the party demands.

Mention was made by Comrade Darvas of the freedom to experiment. Comrade Major spoke about this, too. He put the stress on responsibility in creative work, and I believe this is more correct. For there *is* freedom to experiment. It is responsibility in creative work that has to be strengthened.

Comrade Darvas raised the question that literature should not be regarded simply as a delineation of politics. He is right in that. Nor do I say that such an attitude no longer exists. One can find such views, but not in the Central Committee. The Central Committee knows very well that literature and the arts are not simply the medium for the delineation of politics. However, there is one political requirement I would like to emphasize: it is partisanship, but in the right, the correct sense of the word. Partisanship in literature and the arts does not mean advocating or supporting the viewpoints of some branch of the H.S.W.P. Partisanship is used here in the sense that

writers and artists should side with socialist society if in a given issue the socialist and the capitalist systems clash with each other. If there is a clash between a colonial power and a people fighting for its freedom, they should take a stand against imperialism. And if they notice villainy or outrageous deeds, let them be partisans of justice. It is in this sense that we speak of, approve and demand partisanship.

Speaking about the correct basic position of the majority of writers, Comrade Darvas has said that even though no masterpieces have been produced so far, exciting experiments are being made.

I believe that a majority of the writers do not only adopt a correct basic position, but good works are being produced, too. We are beyond the mere stage of exciting experiments. Everybody knows that in prose, in poetry and in political journalism—it is journalism on a literary level I have in mind—in the drama and even in film scripts, there are good works dealing with the problems of our present-day life. Of course, exciting experiments are also in place. This, of course, implies the understanding that literature is not an industry; writers work in conformity with the laws of artistic creation. We certainly do not want to get reports from the Lenin Metallurgical Works, or the co-operative farm at Kővágóörs, or the state farms in Tolna County saying that there is no cast iron, no wheat, but that there are plenty of exciting experiments. There are experiments, and even exciting ones, in industry and agriculture, too, but fundamental products must be put out year after year—otherwise how could the country and the people live? This should be taken into consideration also by the writers and the artists.

I do not want to deal with other questions raised here, for I agree with them. I agree that the radio, the TV and the stage should not be popularizers of trash, of poor works of bad taste. Though, when such things do occur, it is not only the managers of the radio, the TV and of similar institutions, e.g. of the theatre, who are responsible, and all the blame cannot always be laid at the door of public taste either; sometimes the artists themselves are responsible, too. The moulding of public taste depends not only on the heads of cultural institutions and on public taste, but also on the artists, for the two, of course, interact.

I should like to deal with the questions of party work. A number

of speakers mentioned the extension of voluntary party work, namely, that party work should be done not only by salaried party workers, but also by people working on a voluntary basis. This has many advantages, for if a worker, working on a machine, tells his fellow worker that a certain item can be produced at less cost, his words have more weight than the words of a person who is a full-time agitational worker. In many spheres, similar notions exist in public opinion, and this also explains why party work done on a voluntary basis is a good thing.

The party has already developed many forms of its style of work, which are generally known and accepted. I should like to mention one of them, namely, the so-called preliminary discussion. It is an old truth that the communist parties can count on the true, full and devoted support of as many people as they can convince of the correctness of their standpoint. One cannot count on more, because masses cannot be mobilized for complicated questions by handing out duties and by public acclamation. If, following a preliminary discussion, everybody knows his duties, then the resolutions can be implemented. Therefore, we must stick to this method.

The question is frequently asked why the party and the Central Committee have for years been praising the non-party people; people have said that communists could also be praised, now and then, or more often, as they deserve. This I think is not necessary. Of course, there are cases when communists also deserve to be praised, but it is not worth while to make a practice of this. For five or six years, now, the party has always acknowledged the work of the non-party people, or always given them credit, when they deserved it. This has resulted in an increased public appreciation of the communists over the past six years. In the past it was also better if we were praised by members of other parties than if we were praised by ourselves. It is up to the communists to praise the non-party people, and then the non-party people will praise the communists. This is a more healthy division of work than the other way round. We can state without boasting that the party's relations with the working class, with other working people, and the appreciation of the communists by them, have never been as close as they are now. The party's prestige has never been so great in the country as it is now. We may praise ourselves at

exceptional occasions, at congresses, but even at times like this it is much better if we praise ourselves after the session is over, by stating that our work was done well in the past three years, now let us go further to solve the tasks of the coming years.

It is the duty of our party to serve the people loyally. This is our prime duty. If the working masses think that socialism will bring them better life, freedom, a higher level of culture and happiness, then, in my opinion, they fully understand the socialist system. Neither the party nor the science of Marxism-Leninism were ever ends in themselves. The aim was always to liberate the oppressed and to create a happy, free life for mankind. This is the goal of communism which has to be served by our party.

The task of our party is to help to preserve and defend peace for mankind, to fight in such a way that our country and our people will likewise contribute to that great international force which is capable of curbing imperialist aggression and, thus, to preserve peace, and in persistent struggle to achieve a world without war.

To have faith in the people, in the masses—this is the most important thing in our work. Faith in the people, faith in the working class, in the masses of peasants always means to have faith in man. Let us have faith in people, and turn to them with confidence; even if maybe two times out of a hundred they will turn out to be unworthy of that faith; but better this than to be distrustful in advance towards all hundred and thus create further distrust. Vigilance is necessary, however, not against the popular masses, but against imperialism and the class enemy.

I should like to say a few words about our international duties.

I think it right if we, Hungarian communists, the members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian working class, conceive our tasks in such a way as to consider it our internationalist duty to reverse, in the international sphere, the so-called Hungarian question. By this I mean that six years ago our fraternal parties throughout the world were being bombarded and attacked from all sides by the forces of reaction on account of our problems, of our position. We should work to reverse this, so that it should not be the reactionaries who shout at our comrades, "Better talk about Hungary!" when our comrades speak about communism and socialism being a

superior society, but our comrades should challenge them by saying, "Well, let's talk about the situation in Hungary!" It is not nationalism or chauvinism which makes us say this, but we feel that this is our duty as proletarian internationalists.

It is our internationalist duty to consolidate the unity of the world communist movement, of the socialist camp. We must help to make this unity strong and indissoluble. By this we mean that, in the future, too, the international communist movement, the unity of the socialist camp can exist and develop solely on the pure ideological basis of Marxism–Leninism just as it has been the case so far.

Of the fraternal party delegations addressing the Congress, Comrade Vu Siu-Chuen, head of the Chinese delegation, was the only one to express explicit opposition to one of the statements of our Central Committee, of our party. He declared that he regretted that our Congress had unilaterally condemned the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour. We will take this into consideration as the Chinese comrades' stand on this question, but ask the Chinese comrades to take into account the stand of our party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and of the entire world communist movement on this issue.

We are certain that all plans of the imperialists that are based on the weakening of the international communist movement, of the socialist camp, are futile. The unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, the cause of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of communist policy, and the cause of socialist society and of peace shall grow stronger all over the world. This is our firm conviction.

It is worth mentioning that during the days that our Congress has been in session, there have been some changes in the international situation which prove the truth and force of our position. The U.S. government has lifted the blockade in the Caribbean and demobilized certain military forces, which means that common sense and the international strength of socialism and peace have prevailed over the provocative measures of the U.S. government. We must continue to take a firm stand and struggle, so that the Cuban people and the progressive forces will ensure both peace and the sovereignty of Cuba and render Cuba unassailable.

The Soviet answer to the reasonable step of the United States was demobilization and lifting the state of alert of important units in the Soviet armed forces.

In the last few days we also learned that in the border conflict between China and India the Chinese People's Republic, our Chinese comrades, took the initiative and appealed for putting an end to skirmishes, and bringing about a cease-fire. We warmly welcome this step and consider it correct and courageous and believe that it is now India's turn to take measures corresponding to the cause of peace, in order that the controversial issues may be settled by negotiations. We must also mention that we heard news of communist functionaries having been arrested in India, among others of the detention of the general secretary of our fraternal party, the Communist Party of India. We, Hungarian communists, Hungarian workers, the Hungarian working people, are deeply outraged about this; we condemn it and protest against it.

It must be mentioned that, right after the news of the unfortunate conflict between India and China, there turned up in India—as would happen—the beast of prey, the United States. It is by no means accidental that wherever the representatives and agents provocateurs of American imperialism show up, communists and progressives are deprived of their rights, are persecuted, imprisoned and murdered. Responsible authorities in India should know that the persecution of communists and progressives has never favoured the good cause; it has always strengthened the forces of imperialist and domestic reaction. We have welcomed India's democratic and free development, and it is our opinion that India should rely on the forces of progress and democracy. An understanding must be reached between China and India, so that things should shape up for the good of mankind in that part of the world, too, and that the imperialists should be prevented from exploiting a conflict, against the interests of all progressive forces of the world, including those of the peoples of independent India.

Comrades,

I think that during the past few days the conditions for implementing our political, economic and cultural programme have further

improved. It is our conviction that the proposals put forward here truly and well serve the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic in foreign affairs, the development of our national economy and our culture, the continued raising of our people's living standard, the political and moral cohesion of our society, the complete building of socialist society.

We are convinced that the duties, aims and principles laid down in these documents adequately contribute to the interests of the international communist movement, to the struggle of all progressive and peace-loving forces of the world. I ask, therefore, in the name of the Central Committee and the Auditing Committee, all the delegates to this Congress to approve the two reports and my summary and to pass the proposals submitted. It is certain that by doing so the Eighth Congress offers a new, effective and powerful weapon to our party and our people in their struggle for achieving further successes.

INTERVIEW GIVEN TO ANDRÉ WURMSER, CORRESPONDENT OF *L'HUMANITÉ*

January 6, 1963

ANDRÉ WURMSER: No single government has gone through birth-pangs such as yours. It was not recognized by many states in 1956 and was by no means popular. Six years later you are praised by the most varied press organs, often quite unexpectedly. How did you get so far so quickly?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Let me begin with the story of another interview. In November, 1956, when anarchy was at its height, with shooting going on almost everywhere, I was notified that a journalist wished to interview me. An interview? That was all I needed! I asked for the name of the journalist and was told that André Stil wanted to see me. All right, let him come. Stil came and I told him that there would be no interview, but I would describe to him the situation and my stand on matters. Let him make use of it if he wanted. My intention was to inform the French comrades through him. He made an interview out of our talk which I was only able to read two months later. It was very good, and quite useful at that time.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: I shall never forget the week when we at *l'Humanité* did not get any direct news from Hungary. Our only "source of information" was the enemy. That is why André Stil came to Budapest.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Frankly speaking, there were not many people in Budapest at that time who knew what was going on in the country. You are asking me now why and how the situation changed so radically within such a short time. You also mention the question of popularity. This is extremely important for us, not in the everyday sense

of the word, but from the point of view of gauging the approval and support of the people for the policy of the government. The popularity or unpopularity of the government is a yardstick of the party's authority, when the party is in power. There are a few non-party ministers in our government, but it is no secret for the Hungarian people and foreign public opinion that the government is implementing the party's policies.

We can state that the popularity of the party and government is incomparably greater than at the end of 1956. Experience has proved that in order to raise its influence among the masses the party must take a stand based on principles in all questions. We must always take into consideration, of course, the response to our resolutions, but this cannot be a starting point for us. We were compelled to take a number of measures at the end of 1956 which were disapproved by many people; had we yielded at that time to confused and erroneous conceptions, these same people would have cursed us one year later.

The essential thing is that the masses should realize that our policy corresponds best to the interests of the working masses. They saw and understood this. Expressing this in terms of ideology we can state that the working masses have identified themselves with the ideas of socialism, moreover they demand, on the basis of their own experience, that this policy be really communist, devoid of distortions, abuses and zigzags.

Our people became acquainted with the extreme forms of the two deviations: with dogmatism and sectarianism on the one hand, and revisionism on the other. They paid a high price for this double and bitter experience. Our people have not only learned the ideas of socialism, but also its fully implemented practice, and they are ready to work for the full realization of socialism. But they do not want revisionism, which leads in the long run to class betrayal, the betrayal of people's Hungary, nor do they want dogmatism which results in isolation from the people and in the long run also in the destruction of the fundamental achievements of socialism.

People call for consistency in our policy. They have not forgotten the deep crisis which appeared, beginning with the summer of 1953, in the party, the working class and the entire country. It is their conviction that there must be no basic change in the political line

over short periods of time, because then, in the end, they cannot know what is expected from them, nor what they are working for.

Finally, the policy of the party and the government must be open and above-board. Our entire people must always be told clearly what the objective is, and what is the road leading to it. They have to be told openly who we rely on, who we are fighting against and what methods we wish to apply. One cannot gloss over the difficulties to be surmounted, nor the mistakes which were committed.

The masses not only expect frankness from us, they demand unity of word and deed; it should be avoided that they looked upon politics as something which consisted of declarations and speeches, while the reality was something entirely different.

You must have noticed that there is really very little new in our ideological theses, our methods and style of work. Our party can attribute the effectiveness of its work to the return to the teachings and practice of Marxism-Leninism. It rid itself of the personality cult's distortions, and also of the burdens of revisionist class treason. But neither the Central Committee of our party, nor the government, on the state level, discovered anything new.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: Allow me, Comrade Kádár, to interrupt you. No doubt, you belong to those personalities of the socialist world who today are least criticized by the western press; it happens that democrats and liberals present you as a model to the French communists whom they blame for always harping on the same string. Yet you attribute your wonderful successes, from the very outset, to strict adherence to the "by no means new" Marxist-Leninist line. This is pungent.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Yes, I know... But let us only speak about Hungary. Many kinds of people now support us in Hungary, from different considerations. In their majority they are conscious supporters of socialism. But we are also backed by people with a relatively low social consciousness, who are primarily interested in their own and their family's living conditions. They are not much interested in ideology, the personality cult is profoundly unintelligible to them, and they have very little notion of revisionism either; all they say is that life has become easier and better, therefore they are in agreement with us... But we know that other people, the spiritual relatives of

the men mentioned by you, are also speaking about us at times with a certain amount of recognition. Why is it so? For two reasons. First, because they tried in 1956 to have something which was more convenient for them, a sort of a coalition consisting of Mindszenty, Imre Nagy, Ferenc Nagy and their like, but it did not work out. They resign themselves therefore to something which exists and which—as they say—is not the worst. The second reason is that they lull themselves with illusions. They believe that we are facing a development which they gladly label liberalization; they imagine and hope that we shall swerve from the fundamentals of socialism.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: They still keep on confusing freedom with liberalism.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Yes, that is what it is all about. They keep on hoping. Well, let them keep on hoping . . . The development which took place in Hungary during recent years repeatedly proved the correctness of the Leninist idea that nothing is as important for the masses as their own experience. Our people lived through all imaginable experience: they became acquainted with a generally correct communist policy during the first three years after Liberation, then they lived through the years of the personality cult, followed by a period of revisionist treason and the counter-revolutionary insurrection; finally, they could learn every day during the past six years how correct are the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: To round it off, whatever happened is extremely daring and new. Your government threw open the doors on all levels of state life to every Hungarian, making only one demand: that they should be qualified, honest and loyal to the system. The social origin of those applying for admission to universities is no longer considered. Since June 1, 25,000 Hungarians with passports to travel abroad were given seventy dollars each in return for the required sum in forints. Your theatres put on satirical programmes which spare neither the government nor the system, and are playing to capacity audiences. I refer here only to some of the characteristic novelties. I have a number of Hungarian friends. Frankly speaking, some consider these measures as guarantees of socialism's stability in Hungary, while others wonder whether this confidence and liberality is not premature and risky.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: You were correct in raising this question and I shall give a straightforward answer. This problem is being raised here, in fact some people even state that this or that measure of ours is not correct as a matter of principle. We do not resent this, since it is quite natural that at certain stages of development such questions should be brought up by some people in such a form. I will therefore try to answer you.

The measures referred to are parts of a whole. What we are faced with is no less than the Leninist answer to *topical* problems, that is answering problems which Marx, Engels and Lenin could not deal with, because they could not guess that they would arise in Hungary in 1962. We have to solve them, with the aid of the compass they bequeathed to us.

Our resolutions spring from two sources: our faith in the justness of socialism and our confidence in the masses.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: Only good manners stop me from applauding.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Is this faith and confidence justified? Everyday reality answers this question. For six years the party has been repeating that communists must join forces with non-party people, and the party carries out this principle in practice. Is this correct? One cannot answer this question without knowing the reason for this cooperation. If party members and non-party people were to join forces in order to destroy the achievements of socialism, this cooperation would not be correct. If they unite in building a socialist society, then joining forces in this way is correct. Communists and non-party people know, of course, that the purpose of this alliance is to build socialism.

For the past six years the party has not boasted daily about its leading role and has not delivered long-winded speeches about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, we took a stand against the Stalinist thesis that communists are people of a special mould. This thesis is incorrect. Communists are of the same mould as any other people, with the difference that they have a scientific outlook on the world, a clear-cut objective and a high level of social consciousness. Finally, the party has been urging for the past six years that non-party people should be appreciated and congratulated in case of good work, and that paeans of praise should never be sung about communists...

Well, what is the result? There is no question about the leading role of the party. Our People's Republic, the expression of the proletarian dictatorship, is vigorous; communists enjoy a reputation which is higher than ever; we have laid the foundations of socialism. The cornerstone of our entire concept is the expropriation of the means of production and their social ownership. Well, the social ownership of the means of production underwent a great deal of expansion during the last six years; more than 95 per cent of the population is working under socialist production relations, with means of production belonging to the community.

That is why we feel that it is not a mistake for communists to keep on congratulating non-party people and for non-party people to keep up their high regard for communists; we consider this a more wholesome situation. For this reason we believe that the above measures were taken on the basis of principle and by no means rashly.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: I knew that sooner or later such measures would be taken, but did not expect them so soon. Perhaps I was not optimistic enough?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: My answer is as follows: I was convinced that such measures would be taken sooner or later, but I did not expect either that they would be taken so soon. We communists were convinced, even during the most critical moments of the counter-revolutionary insurrection, of the victory of communism, but we would not have been able to state how and when we would succeed in setting right the questions of principle and policy in people's minds. But this was accomplished faster and better than anticipated. And this holds good for everything, the consolidation of the People's Republic, the restoration of law and order, the results of the 1958 elections and the socialist reorganization of agriculture.

What does this prove? That the socialist idea has struck deeper roots among the masses of people than we thought and that not only the Central Committee, the government and the communists, but the entire people underwent a tremendous political advance in the hard school of historical trials and tribulations.

We had confidence in the people, but these six years taught us that we could have had still greater confidence in them...

ANDRÉ WURMSER: Can we draw other lessons from what you say,

Comrade Kádár? If a determined and wise policy made it possible for socialism to accomplish such rapid results, it is certain that this holds good the other way round: the mistakes, exposed and corrected by the Twentieth Congress, acted as a brake on success and retarded the victory of socialism.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: I will only deal with the experiences here in Hungary which I know best. We are indeed working in the spirit of the Twentieth Congress, whose fundamental feature was the return to the Marxist-Leninist line, free of all deviations and all concessions to the class enemy. The Twentieth Congress, by freeing the international communist movement from the curse of the personality cult, brought about a regeneration, the benefits of which we Hungarians are also enjoying, and which is also expressed in the onward march of the international communist movement. Because the mistakes did indeed check, hold back and, in fact, fundamentally jeopardize the achievements and advance of socialism—especially in Hungary.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: They jeopardized... and yet when all is said and done, whereas in 1876, five years after the Commune, MacMahon refused Victor Hugo's request that the deportation of a young communard journalist be postponed, you declare, six years after the Budapest events, that 95 per cent of the political prisoners are free and the defectors have been invited to return. Does not this throw light on the October 1956 events?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Our views have not changed... We have been proclaiming since November 4 [1956] that the party and government are not guided by the spirit of revenge and we must determine through thorough analysis the forces which rallied against the People's Republic. They included, first of all, our sworn class enemies: the domestic bourgeoisie and international imperialism. Then came the rabble: the counter-revolution released 9,000 murderers, thieves and criminals of all types from the prisons. What stand must be taken against these people? The answer is clear: the class enemy, if it uses violence, must be answered with violence. As to the criminals, they shall be sent back, as far as possible, to where they came from.

There are many other people, however, who came into conflict with the People's Republic, yet the prime responsibility for their attitude lies not in themselves, but in the wrong policies which for

years undermined the rule of law and violated many things without which people cannot live and work. The revisionists also played a detrimental role and misled people by stating that they wanted to implement the spirit of the Twentieth Congress in Hungary, while in reality they leagued themselves with all and sundry enemies of people's democracy. The fact that so many totally different forces could be rallied against us is a proof of the excellent tactical sense of our enemies. Their real objective was obviously the abolition of socialism and the restoration of capitalism. To accomplish this goal they wanted to sever Hungary's ties with the Warsaw Treaty, thereby depriving her of protection and delivering her to the mercy of international imperialism. At the beginning they kept these objectives hidden, but later proclaimed them openly, during the days of the open counter-revolutionary insurrection, as was done, for instance, in the infamous radio statement of Cardinal Mindszenty on November 3.

But what slogans were used during the preceding period of the consolidation and rallying of hostile forces, that is between the summer of 1953 and October 1956? During the summer of 1953 they demanded the restoration of democracy in the party, and of socialist law and order in the country; in 1956 they called for the implementation of the spirit of the Twentieth Congress. They pushed Imre Nagy and his group to the forefront; they were followed by people who were not able to differentiate politically between Right and Left; the bourgeoisie and imperialism were further in the background. We have, by the way, many telling statements from the summer of 1956; the counter-revolutionary leaders of the Hungarian emigration pointed out to the press, in connection with Imre Nagy, that it did not disturb them in the least that the movement was headed by a communist; the important thing was that they should achieve a break-through. Thus came October 23 when Imre Nagy and his group acted as the doormen: they threw open the gates wide. Then everything changed with amazing speed. The forces standing in the background moved into the front lines, while those who till then had stood in the forefront were pushed increasingly into the background. On November 3, the principal role was already being played by Mindszenty.

We had a similar experience once before: our enemies' 1956 tactics repeated those of 1919 with amazing precision. In 1919, there was also

a counter-revolutionary grouping in Hungary, which was supported by international imperialism. In 1919, Horthy's counter-revolution had the direct backing of the French imperialist army, whereas in 1956 the Americans played that role. And what happened in Hungary in 1919? The enemies of socialism advocated that it was socialism they wanted, but it should be a democratic socialism! They overthrew the Republic of Councils and replaced it by a so-called trade union government headed by a certain Peidl. The Peidl group was in power for only six days. On the sixth day about fifteen counter-revolutionaries entered the government building and declared: now you should get out. And the ministers took their hats and coats and left. This was the beginning of the Horthy fascist terror which weighed the Hungarian people down for twenty-five years. I presume that Imre Nagy was destined to play a similar role. He, too, would have been told after five or six days: get up and get out. And he would have taken his hat and coat and cleared out.

Coming back to your question, the essential problem was not to put the sworn enemies of the system in the same category as those who, either because of ideological confusion or for some other reason, came into conflict with the People's Republic. Our state meted out severe punishment to the major criminals who were arrested, was less severe with others, while other people, the great majority, were told to go home and think matters over. The major part of those penalized were amnestied—and as you pointed out: 95 per cent of the political prisoners were freed...

Then again, when inviting émigrés to return to Hungary, we do so in the conviction that the majority will be able to find their place in our society and get along properly in their homeland. As for those who do not want to return to Hungary for some family or other reason, we call upon them to live decently in the country in which they will become naturalized citizens, and to support the cause of peace and progress. A group of émigrés—the smallest in number—simply sold out to reaction. But we express the desire that even these people should find their way back to decent life.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: Your humanism and patriotism prompt me to ask another question. You have stated that the time has come to replace the infamous formula of "he who is not with us is against us" with

the formula of trust: "He who is not against us is with us." We realize how much trouble arose from the changing of vigilance into systematic distrust, but undoubtedly you are taking up the cudgels against more than just suspicion when you speak so emphatically about "the party of the entire nation."

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Let us look at this question more closely. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. However, the party is developing and its role is changing. We can state now that our party is on the road of becoming the party of the entire people, while socialism is becoming the objective of the entire nation. With this we wish to demonstrate that socialism will bring into being the national prosperity forecast by the greatest Hungarian patriots. Socialism is no more the exclusive goal of the party or the working class, it does not only serve the cause of the working class, but is being achieved for the good of the entire people, and can only be achieved by the entire people.

There are no more classes in our country whose interests conflict with socialism. The ideas of socialism and communism are widespread. Moreover, there is a growing certainty that socialism ensures prosperity and coincides with the interests of all working people. We can state therefore that understanding is also rising constantly and people are becoming, ever more consciously, builders of a socialist society. These truths cannot be reconciled with a lack of confidence in the masses, or with a distrust of people belonging to various social categories, something which prevailed under the personality cult. Distrust engenders distrust, while confidence generates confidence. I can cite two examples.

Early in 1957 when we still could not entirely isolate the anarchistic elements and there were many weapons in the hands of various people unknown to us, we organized and armed the Workers' Militia. The Workers' Militia, by the way, does not consist of workers only, but also includes peasants, office employees and intellectuals. Thus many Hungarians have possessed weapons for the past six years. When we provided them with weapons we could not guarantee that they were in complete agreement with us, and on every question; we were merely convinced that they were supporters of people's democracy. This is why we told them: "Hold on to your weapons, and defend the system,

if necessary!" As the people we armed saw that we had confidence in them, they, no their part, answered with confidence, too. In not one single case, not even once, was one of these weapons turned against the system.

Let us now speak about the countryside. We have approximately 4,200 cooperative farms. Discussions were carried on with some peasants for about eight to ten years, and many who did not join the cooperatives were excellent farmers. Such a peasant finally makes up his mind and joins. When it comes to the election of the president of the cooperative farm, members vote him into office. Our man just cannot make sense of it; how come that he who until recently was an individual farmer, and was disputing with cooperative members, is now elected president. But the members keep on insisting: "Never mind, just accept it, since we know that you are the right man for the job and we have confidence in you." Hundreds of such cases took place and the "presidents" had the same idea in every case: if the entire community, including the party organization, trusts me, I cannot disappoint them. A few of these leaders—perhaps less than five in the entire country—were later replaced by the cooperative farmers but this was because of incompetence, because there is quite a difference between farming on nine *hold* and managing a large-scale unit. But let me repeat, the replacement was not because of political reasons or opposition to our system in a single case. A policy of confidence always pays off, whether it is a case of providing weapons to the Workers' Militia or the appointment of somebody to the leadership of a cooperative farm.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: In other words, confidence brings in returns. But can one draw the conclusion from your remarks that the party's role will diminish?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: The party's role has not diminished during recent years; on the contrary, it has increased, and will continue to do so during the entire period of socialist construction. What will change is the character of the problems coming to the forefront: the principal task of the party organizations will be concentrated ever more on the problems of economic and cultural construction. Social control must be organized and the people mobilized to solve the tasks in hand; and this must be done by the party.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: Will the party membership, in your opinion, grow or decline in the coming period?
JÁNOS KÁDÁR: It will increase.
ANDRÉ WURMSER: And is it increasing?
JÁNOS KÁDÁR: In this respect Hungary's position differs somewhat from that of the other socialist countries. We reorganized the party between early November, 1956 and May 1, 1957. But the issue of new party cards was not done automatically, it was controlled. Following reorganization party membership was approximately 40 per cent of that preceding the counter-revolution. This truly qualitative change had necessarily to be followed by a certain growth. We are faced, first of all, with the young generation, to whom we could not close the doors of the party. Moreover, our policies attracted people who did not join the party before; 38 per cent of our present membership did not belong to the party before 1956.
ANDRÉ WURMSER: While we are on this subject, what is the relationship today between former social democrats and communists in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party?
JÁNOS KÁDÁR: The Communist Party of Hungary, one of the first Marxist-Leninist parties, was formed on November 20, 1918. Prior to this, however, the Social-Democratic Party was for a long period of time the vanguard of the working class; this was the first workers' party in Hungary, born during the last decades of the last century. The merger of the two parties fourteen years ago was a great victory for the working class.

After unification a number of former social democrats suffered under a repression, which incidentally did not spare communists either. We condemn these measures and consider the restitution of the damage caused by them our responsibility. At present there is unity in our party. I could cite a number of former social democrats who are members of the Central Committee, hold important state positions or are functionaries in social and trade union bodies, e.g. Comrades Kisházi, Nyers, Rónai, Szakasits and Szurdi. One has often to think hard today to recall who were social democrats before unification; such categories belong to the past. This is logical, too, since a long and desperate struggle has been waged over fourteen years, first against dogmatism, then against revisionism, later against counter-revo-

lution, and finally for the actual building of socialism. There have been so many changes and so many ideological clashes that selection has taken place by itself. It is not necessary now to differentiate between party members on the grounds of whether they belonged to the Communist or the Social-Democratic Party in the past; it is sufficient to ascertain their conduct during this period, in these struggles. Unification, internal cohesion has become an accomplished fact.

But let us look beyond our topical problems. Relations between socialists and communists go back to an earlier period. During the Horthy regime, when communist party organizations were driven underground, I first joined the Young Communist Workers' League. Then I was given an assignment to work in the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions. In that epoch we cooperated with the progressive elements of the Social-Democratic Party on the basis of agreement. I was also a trade union shop steward. I became acquainted with thousands of social democrats; some of them were conscious and staunch partisans of the working class, others professed petty-bourgeois views, while some were progressive liberals who became social democrats as they developed.

I had plenty of discussions in those days with social-democratic comrades about the lessons of history. There was a country where the Communist Party was in power; in that country they had nationalized the means of production and laid the foundations of a socialist society. That country was the Soviet Union. Then there were other countries with socialist, social-democratic or Labour governments, like Great Britain, France, the Weimar Republic, the Scandinavian countries... I maintain that it is by no means indifferent to us whether a country has a social-democratic or a conservative government. If I had to choose between the rule of a socialist or conservative government in a capitalist country, I would always "vote" for the socialist government. Yet what does history teach us? These socialist governments secured at times considerable benefits for their people. In Britain, for instance, five million people received free dental care. It is by no means a matter of indifference to these five million people whether their teeth are good or bad. But history also shows that the structure of capitalist society did not change in these countries. I believe that we communists must unite with the socialists, just as we have to unite

with all progressive forces, to achieve some democratic institutions and force through some social measures.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: This is also the attitude of the French Communist Party.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: The Communist Party of Argentina cooperates with the Peronists, and they are right. One can cooperate with all kinds of petty-bourgeois, radical and other movements, but when all is said and done, the socialists are the closest to us. Yet the question also faces the socialists—and they have to answer it themselves: if their struggle should go beyond free dental service, if they want to achieve a new social order, they have to accept the helping hand offered them by the communists.

Our experience proves that there are many socialists who will understand this, when history poses this question. Our parties, both illegal at the time, worked in the fullest unity after May, 1944. After Liberation the Communist Party, driven underground for twenty-five years, regained its legality, and the Social-Democratic Party was also reorganized as a legal party. Then the struggle began for the seizure of power by the working class, a struggle which lasted for three years, from 1945 till 1948. During this period the two parties were in alliance, but also fought each other.

The bourgeoisie brought pressure to bear upon the Social-Democratic Party in order to draw it into their anti-communist front, but the working class, raising the slogan "together with the communists, for the seizure of power," also exerted pressure on that party. We fought, shoulder to shoulder, for three years against the bourgeoisie on issues like the nationalization of the mines, and we also fought each other for three years, in the factories and in the countryside, to secure a hold on the working people. During that period I was for two and a half years the secretary of the Budapest party organization and presided at the weekly meetings of the district secretaries. I often told them: Comrades, go ahead and argue with the socialists whenever necessary, quarrel with them when you must, but never lose sight of our obligation to give first consideration to the interests of the working class. Do not overlook the fact that we have many allies in the socialist party, who are in agreement with us on the nationalization of the means of production. One day we shall all be members of the same

party, you must therefore quarrel with them in such a way that you will be able to patch it up.

When I look back on my fourteen years of work during the Horthy era and on the three years following Liberation, I can draw only one conclusion: whenever relations between socialists and communists become strained, it becomes quite easy for the bourgeoisie to carry on; whenever we march shoulder to shoulder, it becomes extremely tough for the bourgeoisie. The unity of our forces is not a matter of simple arithmetic; when two progressive parties unite, one and one does not make two, one and one may equal five or even ten. To my knowledge the history of the entire working-class movement teaches a similar lesson.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: It is a fact that we in France did not make any significant progress, except during two periods, when communists and socialists joined forces: in 1936, during the Popular Front, and in 1945, at Liberation.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: The history of the French working-class movement shows, just as that of the Weimar Republic, that whenever reaction or fascism secures a foothold, to start with they speak about the annihilation of the communists only. Once fascism and reaction succeeds in striking hard at the communists, they do not wait even a week to strike down the socialists as well.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: [Roger] Frey, De Gaulle's minister, declared in 1958 that the U.N.R. "will launch an attack against those municipal councils which are controlled by the Communist Party"—and only against them; in 1962, he was already attacking all the other parties.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Your experiences bear out our own. We are familiar with the unceasing struggle of the French party for unity of action; we are convinced that this correct policy will bring results.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: I would like to put my last question now. Not so long ago, at the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the various ideological trends in cultural life came up for discussion. What is the present position of the Hungarian intellectuals? This question is especially important because, as you know, international reaction cashed in on the stand taken by a number of Hungarian writers in 1956.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: The relations between the party—and let us add, the

government—and the intellectuals are good. Unquestionably the intelligentsia does not only have correct ideas about socialism, but when the question is put to them whether they want capitalism or socialism, the great majority takes a stand for socialism. This means that they have a certain social consciousness, they are aware of the tremendous change brought about by socialism already in the life of the Hungarian people, in the development of the country, and of culture. They also take part in the building of the socialist society. But the intellectuals are human, too. They want to know what is expected of them, they want to be treated as adults, they expect us to tell them the truth, they desire that the elementary requirements of their intellectual life and creative work be ensured, they want us to take their opinions into account, they do not want to bear any insult to their dignity . . .

ANDRÉ WURMSER: These are all justified demands.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: In this respect the situation is good, and the intellectuals are satisfied.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: Confidence has also paid off in this respect.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: This is perfectly true. As a result of all this, there is a very significant political *rapprochement*. Once the proper atmosphere for creative work is established, the intellectual accepts, indeed demands, the ideological guidance of the party. We do not wish to imply by this that there is a complete unity on ideological matters. The change is considerable, but there are still confused views, including ideas about a "third road" and long-standing intellectual dreams of living in a country where there is neither capitalism nor socialism.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: Something like *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, who neither wished to write in prose nor in verse.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Exactly so. Neither the dictatorship of the capitalists, nor the dictatorship of the proletariat. Well, of course, that will also come about in the future . . . but right now a choice has to be made between the two.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: Do not let me hurt your national pride, Comrade Kádár, but these are not solely Hungarian phenomena.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: Yes, they also prevail in other countries. If we wanted to engage in a discussion at the Congress on the views of the minority of intellectuals who do not agree with our principles, we should have

taken up the cudgels against at least sixty erroneous views, some of which have only a handful of supporters in the country. For us the essential thing is that Marxist ideology should permeate the masses. Six hundred thousand people—a hundred thousand more than our party membership—are participating in extra-curricular party education which embraces the study of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, four hundred thousand young people attend classes on Marxism-Leninism. This adds up to a million people, and approximately three-fifths of them are neither party members, nor members of the Communist Youth Union. And this million includes several tens of thousands of intellectuals who registered for the classes of their own free will.

We are witnessing, in addition, a great ferment in our entire cultural life, which has its repercussions in literature and drama. The perusal of the recent lists of publications reveals the names of all our living authors. There is not a single writer in Hungary who keeps silent. You should have the programme of our theatres translated; classics are especially popular. Shakespeare is played perhaps more often in Hungary than in Britain.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: And Molière is played more than in France.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: But six to eight Hungarian plays are also being staged; they deal with topical problems and the playwrights are often non-party people. Last week I saw a play by the communist Dobozy, and yesterday a very interesting one by Thurzó, who I understand is a Catholic writer. Three plays by László Németh, a well-known non-party writer, are featured in our theatres at present; one of them, *The Journey*, also deals with topical problems. It took some time after the counter-revolution for our writers and artists to get their bearings. Some of them took a stand, in their works, on the side of socialism and the people's power as early as the spring of 1957. I emphasize: in their works. We don't need any political declarations from them. We do not exert any pressure on any single writer or artist to produce a statement for the press. Only their works matter. The previously mentioned group was quite small in the spring of 1957. Then came a period of discussion, meditation and ferment, which we did not hurry. The intellectuals must solve their own problems, and this is a slow and often painful process. But we now have a second wave of development, which can be described as of a mass character; alongside well-

known artists and writers many younger men have emerged and matured during the last six years.

Our Congress intentionally did not take up these questions in detail, nor the problems of method and style. We are obviously adherents of socialist realism, but neither the party nor the government prescribes a definite style. We are of the opinion that one must have plenty of discussion with the artists and also a lot of patience. Ideological unity in the arts and literature calls for a great deal of time and much patience.

At the beginning of the struggle waged against the counter-revolution we concentrated our forces on winning over the workers and peasants. Once the basic masses of the nation are on our side, what can the intellectuals do? Where can they go? I am deeply convinced that they will follow the masses, because their ties with the people and their honesty prompt them to take this direction.

All told, one must be optimistic. The French comrades told us about their expectations in the second round of the elections, and we were overjoyed about the results. They told us how you were implementing the unity of the democratic forces, what we have just discussed. You were highly successful; the reality was above expectations. This will surely have its repercussion on the international plane. Consistent communist policy, let me repeat, will bring its fruits sooner or later, in all questions and all spheres.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: I am convinced of this, dear Comrade Kádár, but... being... because I have reached a certain age, I would like to be around when these fruits are picked.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: I understand you... but I was 33 years old when Liberation came. I never expected to live till the day, but was of the opinion that then everything would go smoothly and easily. Well, nothing was simple, I even had to go through bitter disappointment. In so far as you are concerned, your position will be difficult until the day of victory, but then your sailing will be much smoother than ours. The enemy never speaks about it, but we commit the mistake of speaking too little about our point of departure, the semifeudal, medieval state of affairs which prevailed here eighteen years ago; we had no industry worthy of note, and no civilization in the real sense of the word. The mistake did not lie within our people, but in our past.

Indeed, we still have to make considerable progress in order to stand comparison with France.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: How can I thank you for all the time you gave me, Comrade Kádár?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: There is nothing to thank me for. Ours is a common cause.

ANDRÉ WURMSER: This is my only excuse...

SPEECH AT THE GANZ-MÁVAG WORKS

January 29, 1963

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Thank you for the cordial welcome. I wholeheartedly congratulate the Ganz-MÁVAG workers on successfully meeting their 1962 targets even under difficult conditions. This is a significant achievement.

I heartily greet the workers of the factory; and my greetings go to the workers of those factories and plants who have sent their representatives to this meeting. Now that the preparatory work is over and we are beginning to hold our election rallies, let me convey to you, to our working class, to the working people of our capital, to our citizens and compatriots, the fervent, fraternal greetings of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front and of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Comrades,

The election is an important event in the constitutional life of our homeland. The nomination meetings, with the active and large-scale participation of the voters, have come to a successful conclusion. About half the voters attended the nomination meetings, thus taking part in person in drawing up the list of candidates of the Patriotic People's Front.

The objective of the elections can be summarized in three points. The first and general aim is the strengthening of our people's democratic system. The second is to strengthen our policies and make them even more effective. The third, and no less important, objective is the

election of a new National Assembly and of councils whose members are qualified to fulfil the honourable but difficult and heavy responsibility incumbent upon our principal legislative organ and the local organs of the people's power.

On election day people will have to cast their votes on policies and for candidates. But it is not particularly difficult to pass judgement. As far as policies are concerned, we are not coming forward at these elections with a new policy or new programme. The election programme of our party, of the Patriotic People's Front and, of course, of the government is the still more effective and better implementation of the policies which we have been carrying out over the last few years. As far as the candidates are concerned, our Members of Parliament and local councillors come from the working masses and are known to the people. In our country candidates for the National Assembly and the local councils do not present themselves to their voters just once every four years, during the election campaign. Members of Parliament and local councillors spend their entire life among the working people, working with them on the job; this stems from the nature of our system and of our work.

Let me say a few words about our system. There is a close relationship between elections and the system in every country of the world. Our system is in its designation a People's Democracy, it is socialist in character, and according to scientific definition it is a working-class power, a dictatorship of the proletariat. This type of system has by now been attained in many countries in the world, and is being built and strengthened by the working people.

Our system has a large number of critics. As you all know, it is not liked by the capitalists and landowners, who benefited from old privileges, nor by those who are at present in power in the capitalist countries, nor by those people who have lost their former privileges because of the establishment of the world socialist system. These critics often state that our system is neither democratic nor free. They love to call their own capitalists dictatorship the "free world."

Our people, however, passed the kindergarten stage in politics a long time ago. They have learned a lot and know a lot. They know very well that there are some discrepancies in the external form, the constitutions and institutions of some of the countries of the so-called

"free world." They know that ruthless, fascist terror is raging in South Vietnam, Spain, Portugal and many other capitalist countries; a dictatorship which no one even tries to disguise. The supporters of peace and progress are openly and brutally massacred and jailed, and the entire population is kept under oppression.

We know countries which are cited as homelands of bourgeois democracy. West Germany and the United States call themselves parts of the "free world." In these two countries—and several others like them—there are institutions which look democratic. The working people have been left a certain freedom of motion and some rights, but a brief examination of these so-called "democratic countries" reveals that they are nothing but dictatorships of the capitalist class. How else can one explain why in West Germany—where big capital, the monopolies and the militarists possess the power, rights, the freedom to move around and to operate—the representative of real human progress, the German Communist Party, was outlawed and driven underground years ago; in that country the partisans of peace are persecuted and prosecuted, and the authorities have even gone so far as to imprison the editors of a bourgeois newspaper, *Der Spiegel*.

Many people believe, on the basis of tradition, that the United States is a country of freedom and democracy. But the Hungarian workers, who by now know the difference between freedom and capitalist dictatorship, correctly evaluate the witch hunt against all progressive forces and organizations in the U.S. and brand it as flagrant injustice. The Communist Party of the United States, which at present is not strong, and is attacked and deprecated by the capitalists, has been recently indicted in order to convict its members as agents of a foreign power. This is done in a country which claims to be the champion of the "free world," where the capitalist system is strong, and where the power is undeniably and completely in the hands of the capitalists.

A few months ago it was decreed in the U.S. that the Communist Party of the United States must register as the agent of a foreign power. What kind of a democracy is it, where honest people who believe in human progress, in socialist development, are caught in a trap: they either have to register as agents of a foreign power, and be sentenced on that score, or they do not register, and are convicted for that.

Several of our comrades who, as convinced communists, rejected this shameful procedure with disdain, just as free men should, were indicted.

One could give a long list of such examples from those western capitalist countries which are labelled democratic. Anatole France, that great French thinker and writer, gave a proper characterization of bourgeois democracy, before the rise of fascism. He stated that equality before the law equally prohibits the rich and the poor from sleeping under a bridge. Few people have given a more classic and more precise definition of the freedom rights of so-called "bourgeois democracy." This system, despite elections and the multi-party system, is a society of insoluble contradictions. The contradictions between the exploiting capitalist and the exploited worker can never and nowhere be resolved, in any kind of bourgeois democracy.

That society is torn asunder by other kinds of contradictions, too. The interests of the colonizing imperialist powers and of the subjugated and distressed colonial peoples can never be reconciled. The imperialist ruling classes, besides exploiting their own people, are always striving to exploit other peoples; and this results, too, in irreconcilable contradictions. The struggle between the countries of the Common Market, Britain and her partners, and the United States, is an example of this.

The hired men of the monopolies are trying to cover up all these contradictions of their regime, all the inhuman and imperialist features of capitalism, by proclaiming that there is a multi-party system and freedom under capitalism.

We can safely and confidently weigh the main features of our people's regime against theirs. There is no multi-party system in our country, our social life is developing under the ideological and political leadership of a single party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Our system rallies in the Patriotic People's Front communists and all those non-communist, progressive and honest people who are in agreement with our fundamental objective, the building of a socialist society.

The fundamental feature of our system is that our people have attained freedom, have taken over the land and the factories and are in power. This is the system which has abolished the exploitation of man by man, and is achieving socialism, the society of labour, of free

men; it opens up a different destiny and new perspectives for each and every person.

We often call our system a collective system, a communal system. Those in the West on the other hand say that theirs is a regime of individual freedom. Let us examine, however, the peculiarities of the various regimes from the point of view of what they have to offer to the individual. Under capitalism the beauties of life, prosperity and opportunity belong to those who—according to the old saying—are born with a silver spoon in their mouths; this is so because their regime appreciating inherited title, rank, wealth and power turns over all that is fine and precious to a small group of privileged people.

In our system no advantage, preferential position or rank is due as a birthright. Ours is a society of labour in which the evaluation and success of a person is based on talent, knowledge and work.

In capitalist society power belongs to the class of capitalists and landowners, and the fate of the individual is determined by title, rank and wealth. In our system the labouring classes, the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia are the masters of destiny and the helmsmen of progress; the individual's success is attained through talent, knowledge and labour.

There is discussion in our press at present on the opportunities for success. The article which opened the debate was written by a young engineer. He maintained that there are no unlimited openings for success, because he himself, who studied for five years at the university and has been employed—as far as I recall—for two years, still only has a monthly salary of 1,600 forints. What is the essence of the discussion? If one raised the question whether or not there are unbridled opportunities for success, we must answer that there are no unbridled opportunities in our society, because no one can succeed in our country at the expense of others. Everybody can, however, exercise his talent and knowledge, without any social restrictions, for the benefit of the community, and also achieve prosperity for himself. As to how long it takes to succeed, that depends on how diligently that particular person studies and how he makes out on the job.

Equal rights for citizens is also a much debated question. According to the critics of the dictatorship of the proletariat, equal rights for citizens do not prevail in our country. Those who remember the days

of the Horthy regime—and there are many here who lived through those times—know very well how the franchise was applied in those days. There were a number of disqualifying requirements, such as schooling, property ownership, residence in the same area for a certain length of time, and other restrictions. There was a secret ballot in towns where the powers that be could not withstand the pressure of the workers who were demanding rights and progress, but voting was open in the countryside, carried out in the presence of the gendarmes and the county recorder. In several electoral districts the wealthy landowner who had tens of thousands of *hold* was the candidate himself, on his own property. In such districts a few hundred votes were sufficient for the election of a Member of Parliament. In other districts, where they were afraid to face working-class and progressive public opinion, like the suburbs and working-class districts of Budapest, 30,000 to 35,000 votes were needed to elect an M.P. This is how equal rights for citizens fared during the Horthy days.

If you think that this example is outdated, let us take a look at France which stands on a high level of bourgeois development, where elections took place last November. There was a rather strange implementation of the equal rights for citizens. Our brother party, the French Communist Party, polled almost 22 per cent of the votes, but was given only 8.8 per cent of the mandates. The ruling party, President de Gaulle's party, polled slightly over 31 per cent of the votes, but obtained almost half of the seats, 49.8 per cent to be exact. Here is equal rights for citizens, the same "value" for each vote in a country in which bourgeois revolution with the slogans of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" triumphed well over 150 years ago. Well, in this respect there is now retrogression rather than advance in France.

How is the principle of equal rights for citizens realized here, in our People's Republic, in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat? There is universal and equal franchise, under which all citizens above eighteen—practically the entire adult population—have the right to vote. There are approximately 6,500,000 voters, or rather something above this figure, in Hungary. A certain number of convicted persons and mental deficients cannot vote.

I do not wish to enumerate all the capitalist countries, but rather refer to our own past, since what used to prevail here is strongly rem-

iniscent of the situation in the capitalist world today. In our country the members of the Upper House were appointed, not elected. According to the rules every member of the House of Hapsburg over 24 years of age was a member of the Upper House, even if he was mentally deranged, because this was not a disqualifying clause for them. The Upper House included five princes, thirty-eight counts and eighteen barons. I shall not mention the rest of the members because certain occupations—for example that of jurist—had a different connotation during the Horthy days than today.

Out of the 245 members elected to Parliament in 1931, 107 were big landowners, capitalists and bankers; the rest consisted of Horthyite chief functionaries and other beneficiaries of the Horthy regime. He who happened to have the right to vote and could avail himself of it, openly or secretly, was confronted with the big question: who to elect? We made an attempt around 1930 to participate in the elections. The then Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party put forward candidates for Parliament, including Comrade Palotás from the building trades workers, and others. At that time a candidate for Parliament needed 5,000 sponsors to get a place on the ballot. We collected signatures in the working-class districts. However, if we wanted to make sure of the nomination, we needed at least 25,000 sponsors because most of the signatures submitted were declared invalid the next day. And there was no possibility of appeal. When the election campaign was drawing to a close, a rally was raided and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party smashed; its candidates were taken to the police station where the Horthy detectives jeered at them: "How are the gentlemen from Parliament?" Well, many of those who jeered them came to a sad end, but a few of the former candidates are still living, enjoying the honours due to respected veterans; some are even M.P.s at present.

In the present elections more than one half of the voters participated in the nomination meetings where there was thorough discussion on whom to put up as candidates. In about 3,800 cases the candidates originally proposed by the People's Front were replaced by others, and in a few hundred cases two candidates are being submitted for the voters to choose from, to be decided who shall be the councillor. The candidates for the National Assembly and councillors were therefore selected by several million people.

At present, workers, peasants and intellectuals represent the working people in the supreme organ of people's power, the legislature, and also in the local organs of state power, the councils. According to their original occupation about 42 per cent of the parliamentary candidates are workers, 18 per cent peasants and 36 per cent intellectuals. When preparing statistics of this sort nowadays one is always struck by the rapid development of the people's cultural level; the tempo is just breath-taking. I recall, for instance, the congress of socialist brigade leaders where surprisingly many working people were graduates from colleges and technical secondary schools; I can also mention our Party Congress where almost half of the delegates had university diplomas. In the new National Assembly and in the councils the cause of the working people will again be represented and served by well-trained and cultured workers, peasants and intellectuals. Proper attention has been paid at the selection of the candidates as to whether they are willing and able to work for the policies known and accepted by the people.

The essence of the elections, as of our system, is not the existence of a single or several parties, whether one or several parties will participate in the elections, but whether we live under capitalist dictatorship or under workers' rule. In the capitalist countries dictatorship is applied against the forces of progress, against the communists and other progressives, the ordinary, non-communist partisans of peace—for the benefit of the monopolies, imperialists and militarists. There is dictatorship and repression in our system, too, but it is directed solely against the warmongers, those who organize against the people's democratic system, who carry on national and racial incitement. Those who spread national and racial hatred, incite for war, those who are deeply against the people's democratic system—if there are any—will be even more resolutely and more sternly restricted and repulsed after the elections.

Comrades,

Members of Parliament and councillors are now meeting with the voters and reporting on the work of the National Assembly and the councils, and on their own activities. This is an important part of the elections. It is also necessary to sum up the work done so far, and

to get the approval of the working people, since we are voting on the continuation of this work.

Let us review the results of our work, comrades. 1962 was not only an exceedingly difficult year for Ganz-MÁVAG—owing to a number of organizational irregularities and other problems which aggravated the situation—but also for the entire country. The world, too, was faced with tension and problems. The development of our society calls for simultaneous progress in all spheres of our social life, because a lag in any field results in grave difficulties and mistakes. This is why industry, agriculture, public education and culture must be developed simultaneously, and at the same time attention must be paid to living standards. Moreover, we must be concerned about the security of our country, we must have an army, and our boys must be provided with weapons, and up-to-date weapons at that, for the defence of the homeland. It was under such conditions that work had to be carried out last year.

As far as living standards are concerned, I must point to a fact which you are also familiar with, namely, that practically all Europe is faced with various difficulties due to the extremely severe and long winter. Comrade Zhivkov, leader of our fraternal Bulgarian party, passed through our country recently. When we met, he enquired about what was happening and how we are getting along. Thanks, I told him, we exist, we are getting along. Yes, he answered, you do get along, and not so badly at that. Yes, this is also a part of the problems. It is cold, one must keep warm, and if there are difficulties in providing heat from the outside, we have fuel for our bodies, because I don't think there is any reason for complaint in so far as food consumption is concerned, not even in the present cold season.

Our party and the Patriotic People's Front have tackled a number of important questions which were also taken up by our people. Several important problems have been solved, while we have found and laid down the ways and means for solving others.

The Central Committee dealt with the problems of industrial management and the development of agriculture, with doing away with the remnants of the personality cult, and in addition we called the Eighth Congress of our party. The preparation for the Congress was a tremendous job, since our entire work had to be reviewed. In the

meantime we also had to solve the problems of economic and cultural construction.

By the way, this "solution in the meantime" also applies to the election campaign. Several hundreds of thousands of people are participating in the election work. They are active in the committees, they are drafting minutes, making up and correcting voters' lists, they carry on agitation and are working at the polls. Of course, we also participate in the election campaign, the party centre and the government alike. However, before the campaign started we laid down the rule that the everyday work must be carried on while the election campaign is in progress. Should we forget about our fundamental and constant activities while being engaged in agitation work among the people, we would be working against our own ends. The locomotives and motors must be made, and agitation work must also be carried out, there are no two ways about it.

The Office of Statistics pointed out that last year's industrial production increased 9 per cent, and—this is very important—63 per cent of the greater output came from a rise in productivity. In agriculture we only produced as much as in the previous year, owing to the bad weather, but agricultural purchases rose last year by 5 per cent. Goods transport, passenger traffic and foreign trade turnover also increased satisfactorily compared to the previous year, and there was an 8 per cent rise in investments.

The total money income of the population increased in 1962, compared to 1961, by 4.2 per cent, and consumption went up 4.8 per cent.

It is also an achievement that in 1962 the government passed a number of social measures at the end of the year. They included the extension of maternity leave, the raising of the widows' pension and a cut in the price of several consumer goods.

As you recall, the Party Congress discussed additional measures affecting living standards and the people's well-being. Our competent state organs are at present working out the possibilities for introducing higher family allowances for two children and several other measures. The Central Committee and the government are considering a number of other problems affecting living standards. We realize that certain categories of factory and office workers and intellectuals are having

difficulties because their level of pay is lagging behind. We must candidly point out, however, that the number of such physical and white-collar workers is very considerable. Once the necessary conditions have been created through work, increased productivity and the reduction of production costs the Central Committee and the government will—I can assure you— not wait a week or a month to solve the current problems affecting living standards.

The mandate of the National Assembly is for four years. The evaluation of the past period indicates that there is nothing to be ashamed of, in so far as the National Assembly and the councils are concerned, when facing the voters.

During the past four years, i.e. since 1958, industrial production rose by 50 per cent and the socialist reorganization of agriculture was completed. There are a number of outstanding achievements during this period, such as the fact that the number of our tractors almost doubled: from 26,500 to 50,000. The per *hold* use of fertilizer rose 150 per cent, and during the period of reorganization, agricultural production increased by 8 per cent and the amount of purchased produce by 12 per cent.

There has been progress in all other spheres of life, too. We don't always notice in the course of action how rapidly we advance. The figures cover real, living people. It is a fine feeling to note that the number of university and college students rose from 34,000 to 67,000 during the last four years, while there are now 330,000 secondary-school students, as against 178,000 in 1958.

This is a cultural achievement our people can justly be proud of. It is also a guarantee for the future, because every working person knows that it is not enough to have machinery and equipment for production, but cultured people who have mastered technique are also needed.

We can also point to a considerable growth in retail trade, in other words consumption; this rose by 20 per cent, that is by one fifth, in four years.

The fate of individual human beings is also revealed by the significant figure of 2,300,000 savings account owners in our country, and savings deposits rose from 2,000 million forints in 1958 to 8,800 millions. This pinpoints an improvement in the position of the individual,

or how else could this iron reserve of almost 9,000 millions—which always comes in handy—have been scraped together?

Our four-year balance-sheet is, therefore, not unfavourable. These achievements can be attributed to the correct policy of the party, to the creative activity of the working people. We can state that under leadership of the party and the working class our people resolutely and surely surmounted all difficulties. The sum total of our achievements shows that the people's power is firm, we have laid the foundations of socialism and entered into the period of the completion of the building of socialism.

Our achievements are permanent because as a result of our development the economic and social prerequisites for the restoration of the old system were eliminated, and also because the Hungarian People's Republic is part of the world socialist system, the mightiest power in the world.

The Hungarian people can take stock of the last four years with satisfaction and with pride in their own achievements, and can face the future with self-confidence. These four years also point out that by firmly adhering to our correct objectives and further strengthening popular-national unity under the banner of socialism, we can overcome all obstacles and advance in social development and the continued improvement of our living conditions.

The Hungarian People's Republic is marching ahead in solid and secure alliance with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world. We have safeguarded and further developed the socialist achievements of our people and ensured the peaceful construction work of our people and ensured peace.

Our advance was made possible by the people's power, our socialist achievements and peace; there cannot be any further progress without them. Many of our people suffered through the war, they have not forgotten it—and want none of it. The man who lives from his own labour, the decent man, the classes which do not live on the exploitation of other classes, and the peoples of countries which are building their own society and are working for themselves—they do not want war.

Last autumn, owing to the brutal and aggressive stand of the United States government, we were close to war. They wanted to

destroy the Cuban revolution through open attack, by the force of arms. They viciously gambled with the fate of mankind and pushed mankind through their aggressive acts to the brink of a world war. It was the peace policy, might, cool-headedness and sense of responsibility of the Soviet Union which saved mankind from the outbreak of a world war. We feel we have a share in this mighty deed, because the heroic people of Cuba and all the peoples of the socialist world were ready to beat back and break down American provocation with all their might.

Now, when we are preparing for the elections and have to submit account of the work accomplished, the picture we can present is encouraging and fine. The usual question may, however, arise: isn't there something wrong? Is everything proceeding so smoothly in our country? Aren't we boasting again? No, comrades, we must not commit such a mistake. We must not state that everything is going very well. We know that not everything is in order, yet at times it is proper and necessary to render an account of the results of our work; this creates a feeling in the entire people that it is worth while to labour, to study and to struggle, because this will bear fruit.

Of course, there are shortcomings. There are weaknesses the enumeration of which would take hours. There are many shortcomings, but we must take into consideration the onerous heritage which our liberated people had to shoulder.

The capitalists, big landowners, fascists like Horthy and Szálasi, and the Hitlerites brought the country and the people on the brink of ruin and destruction.

Nobody should waste his time telling us that there are more motorcars in the streets of the United States than in our country. The United States is a great capitalist power which has been growing fatter and more prosperous for a century. Had it been crushed by the jackboots of Hitler as were the Hungarian people, it would have a much better idea what war means. Let us just go to our Great Boulevard and take a look at it, and compare it with what it was like in 1945, and then we can size up the tremendous results of our socialist work of construction.

We had to grapple with our historic heritage. A fight had to be waged for power. And when we thought that everything was indeed in

order at last, that our power had been consolidated and those with a common historic path united into a single workers' party, ready for the advance—then came two gigantic detours. One was to the "Left," the personality cult and its well-known consequences; the other was to the Right, the counter-revolutionary insurrection.

The ranks of the Hungarian communists, all sincere supporters of our people and of socialism, overcame these difficulties. If one takes all this into consideration and reviews the present situation, one cannot look at the path traversed without a feeling of satisfaction.

Of course, even now we have well functioning ministries and—to put it politely—less well functioning ministries. There are well functioning councils and less well functioning councils. The same holds good for directors, for party organizations and for agriculture as well. But this should not exasperate us, because our institutions, organizations, factories, cooperative farms, scientific research institutes and our creative cultural institutions are for the most part functioning well. Our task now is to prod those which are not yet working properly, since this is always necessary. Now, for instance, when a Member of Parliament, a minister or councillor can be reached more easily by the voter, he should urge them on to work better than up till now.

In our large economic units, in the factories we must examine systematically the causes of the relative backwardness and see that they are eliminated to make way for healthy progress. We have already spoken about the achievements of the Ganz-MÁVAG works. I think highly of them because the difficulties which had to be overcome here were indeed enormous. I do not want to give a detailed list, but I would like to refer to the programme of manufacturing Diesel engines, assigned to you quite some time ago by the government; it was so ambitious that it could not be carried out either by Ganz-MÁVAG or by the half of Europe. Moreover, the necessary tools for its implementation were not turned over to you. Now this programme has been cut to a realistic and rational size, and more means have been ensured for its realization. We are slowly getting over the hump, and this mighty works, which manufactures highly important products for our country, has reached the point where anarchy, strife and the chaos of reorganization are disappearing; things will be in order and the plan targets fulfilled. This we must appreciate and value highly.

It is very important to assist the weaker cooperative farms. True, there is a difference in natural endowments, but the main difference lies, as a rule, in the management and the industriousness of the members. In Győr County, for instance, where reorganization was completed first, the share per work unit will average, at the annual closing of accounts, 34 forints. If we could make the Győr County average hold good for the entire country, there would be an entirely different situation in agriculture. This level can and will be reached. There are hard-working, intelligent people not only in Győr County, but in every county, only somewhat better management and greater zeal are necessary.

We can overcome all difficulties, but the prerequisite is that communists should set an example by their work. I have often spoken about the appreciation of non-party people and giving recognition to their efforts. I still emphasize this, but I must also state that it is impossible to make progress without the enlightening and organizational work of the communists and without them setting an example. The half million party members and the rather larger number of young communists are faced with the fine and honourable responsibility of continuing their work of enlightenment, of organizing work and inspiring the people; their words must always be in line with their deeds and they should carry on their work in such a way that their actions inspire the rest of the people.

Our election programme is brief and to the point: we wish to continue with our well-proved policies in such a way that they shall be implemented even better and more effectively in all fields than up till now.

The object of our foreign policy is the further strengthening of our alliance with the Soviet Union, with the Warsaw Treaty countries, with the socialist countries and with all progressive forces. We shall continue to struggle against imperialism, the colonial system and aggression. We fight for the ending of atom bomb tests, which, thanks to the recent proposal of the Soviet Union, can be realized in the near future. The peoples can justly expect and demand that the governments of the United States and Great Britain should accept the Soviet proposal and ensure the ban on nuclear tests.

We shall continue our struggle for the conclusion of a German

peace treaty. The Franco-West German alliance, the alliance of personal power and Adenauer's revanchism, carries in itself a great danger for the peoples of Europe. The major and most effective defence in the face of this danger is the elimination of the vestiges of the Second World War. The affairs of Europe must be put in order, and the key thereto lies in the conclusion of the German peace treaty!

We are struggling without relaxation against rearmament, for general and complete disarmament. The fundamental principle of our foreign policy continues to be peaceful coexistence and the maintenance of normal relations with all countries. We are convinced that peaceful competition between the two systems—the capitalist system and the socialist system—is in the best interest of the whole of mankind. We are convinced, and are working to that end, that the socialist system will triumph in this peaceful competition, for the benefit of all mankind.

Here is our domestic programme of construction: we will solve the tasks facing us, under the leadership of the party, with the participation of the entire people. Let us fulfil this year's plan, the Five-Year Plan, and complete the building of a socialist society; let us raise still higher general living standards and the cultural level of our people, so as to achieve a communist society, which embodies the noblest aspirations of humanity.

Without yielding in any way from the principles of socialism and communism, we will continue to follow a versatile and flexible policy. By firmly and consistently adhering to the principles of communism in all social problems, we will be able to develop further the democratic and humanitarian traits of our society. Let us fight for the full and absolute implementation of the correct principles of guidance and government, so that the methods of enlightenment and persuasion, in other words, faith in the masses and unity with the masses, shall triumph everywhere in our entire society.

We are waging a struggle with all our strength, revolutionary impetus and enthusiasm against all leftovers of bourgeois attitudes and the capitalist past, for the triumph of the communist ideas and communist morality. This means that we have to fight against those who cause injury to the community, against bureaucracy and callousness, against misuse of power.

Democracy and socialist law and order are our great achievements. Democracy, in our interpretation, means freedom and rights but, at the same time, responsibility as well. If we wish to struggle for the continued democratization of our system—as we are doing—then we must make those few people, who have failed to understand so far, conscious that remuneration, rights, advantages and higher income should be granted to those who work and meet their obligations. I believe we have the same experience with politically less advanced people: their achievement of democratic consciousness is taking place the other way round; first they study all the decrees on what is due to them and start making claims; it is only afterwards—sometimes not even then—that they learn about their obligations, about what they must do.

Comrades,

Under capitalism we liked neither the capitalist regime nor the capitalists. But we communists and socialists maintained the principle even under capitalism that the work we accepted had to be done properly and we carried it out on the job—unless we were unemployed or imprisoned. Because we could only fight for our rights if we did an honest job.

When stating that our system is a society of working people, a society of labour, we start out from the premise that the man who carries out his work is entitled to freedom, rights, advantages and praise, but he who does not meet his obligations is entitled to practically nothing. Work is the foundation of rights.

The restoration of socialist rule of law is one of our greatest achievements in the struggles of recent years. But it has to be made clear that, on the one hand, not one single right of a citizen can be violated, and, on the other hand, he who violates the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic shall be called to account. One cannot conceive of a socialist rule of law which only ensures legality of one kind. Such onesidedness would harm our system.

Comrades,

We ask the Hungarian people to support the Patriotic People's Front, its objectives and candidates on election day. We ask the

working people to support the National Assembly and the councils with their labour and political steadfastness, and to help also by voicing their criticism where necessary.

Obviously we also ask everybody, before, during and after election, to make good on the job, so that all working people shall make use of their knowledge, skill and creative ability and strain their efforts for the success of the 1963 targets and the Five-Year Plan.

The present weather is holding back some jobs. I was recently at the Váci Road shipyards where some operations had to be suspended at 19 to 20 degrees below zero. In your factory, too, cold weather is interfering with production. We must be prepared, however, to put our shoulders to the wheel as soon as the weather permits and make up for all the temporary setbacks. This is necessary if we are to fulfil our plans.

Our policies are based upon confidence in the working masses. This is justified, since it is obvious how well our working people are holding their ground. It is well known that the workers, the socialist brigades are now building, in snow and frost and in socialist emulation, power stations, bridges, large chemical works, projects like the Danube Cement and Lime Works. Transport workers, fitters, men handling gas and water supplies, and the miners are also doing their job, often under circumstances which, without using big words, call for real heroism. Special mention must be made of the miners, who justly deserve the recognition of the party, the government and the entire people, for, standing fast under the present extremely difficult conditions, they have been providing us with the extra coal needed in the extraordinary and prolonged cold spell. We know that their first Sunday shift resulted in a 102 per cent fulfilment, while output, before and after, was above 100 per cent every day.

The cooperative farms are now submitting their balance-sheets for the year. One must say that the peasants, the members of the relatively young cooperative farms stood their ground heroically in the two years' struggle against drought. The average wheat crop per *hold* was 10 quintals with 13 quintals of maize; this is an achievement the like of which has only been attained once before, in 1961.

I will mention another example of steadfastness, perhaps the most important one. The international situation was really critical on three

occasions during the last two years, although not to the same extent. The first crisis arose early in 1961 when the first attempt at a landing in Cuba took place with American assistance. The second time was during the late summer and autumn of the same year, when the situation around the Berlin problem became aggravated, while the third crisis occurred recently, on October 22 and the following days. These days of crisis put our People's Army to a great test, and they stood their ground excellently, officers and enlisted men alike. In the autumn of 1961 when soldiers due for discharge had to continue in service, they volunteered to stay in the ranks, and they acted in the same way during the Caribbean crisis. At the same time, our whole people stood their ground splendidly. Our people realized the graveness of the situation on October 22, 23 and 24. There was panic and hysteria in many countries. Please remember those days in our country: people followed the news with perhaps greater attention, they talked about it, but everybody was at work and our entire people carried on splendidly, with real discipline. There was nothing like hysteria or panic here. This proves the maturity of our people, and—please don't misunderstand me or take this as a lack of modesty—it also proves that our people are quite calm in the sense, too, that there is no confusion in the leadership of the country. Our people had confidence in the policy of the Soviet Union, in the great Soviet people, in Comrade Khrushchov and his comrades in arms.

Comrades,

Taking into consideration our achievements and shortcomings and the tasks ahead of us, we can state that conditions are very good for advance during the coming years at a pace similar to the present one. But to do so it is necessary for the party unflinchingly and firmly to follow the same real, Marxist-Leninist policies which we applied during the last few years, and it must not allow itself to be pulled to the Right, nor to the "Left," just as it has not done so recently. It is imperative that the idea of the Patriotic People's Front movement should permeate our entire people, that a closer unity should cement our people marching under the leadership of the party on the road to socialism.

The People's Front movement, this unity of party members and

non-party people, the alliance and unity of the various working classes, is a genuine, effective and real power. And socialist national unity is a nascent, realistic objective. Let the entire nation rally and unite under the banner of socialist ideas.

National unity is not a novel idea, not a new line or endeavour. Many outstanding leaders of the Hungarian people, including Rákóczi and Kossuth, advocated national unity and worked for its realization. But the slogan of national unity was used also by perfidious and treacherous forces, including István Tisza during the period of the First World War. Bethlen during the Horthyite counter-revolution and the leaders of the 1956 counter-revolutionary insurrection also carried on their swindle behind the slogan of national unity, of "all Hungarians are brothers." But national unity could not be established in the past, because of social causes, either through pure intentions or deceitful aims. The kings and the paupers, the feudal lords and the serfs, the exploiting capitalists and the exploited workers could not be welded into a national unity. For centuries the forces of the Hungarian people were wasted by internal discords and struggles.

The establishment of national unity is possible under the banner of socialism, in the spirit of socialist ideas, and this national unity is evolving already. The nation is no longer torn asunder by irreconcilable class contradictions. Our people consist now of 65 per cent workers and employees and 30 per cent cooperative farm members and their families. They make up 95 per cent of our population, and there is no fundamental class contradiction between them. On the contrary, their unity is strengthened by the common objective: the completion of a socialist system of society, sincere devotion to the service of the people, and the prosperity of the people and the entire nation. Communist conviction, honour, patriotism and individual interest all give strength to the attempts to build a socialist society, to establish a flourishing socialist Hungary as soon as possible, because this will be so much better for the working man, for the people and for the nation. This objective, therefore, is now realistic: we must advocate socialist ideas and work for their implementation, so that these ideas shall permeate our entire nation and this unity shall add to the strength of the Hungarian people.

Our winter has been very hard and severe, it is by no means over

yet, but spring will come. At least winter always has been followed by spring and will undoubtedly be so this time. Nobody will starve or freeze in our country because of the severe cold, and the government is doing everything in its power to alleviate the difficulties caused by the extremely cold weather.

We are faced with a big job, and work we must now under the conditions of a hard winter, and later under easier conditions. Our election "promises," therefore, also include, dear Comrades, that we have to work more tenaciously, more consistently and a lot better, because only thus can we achieve and realize all that we desire: a still better, finer life for the working class, for the entire people and for all working men!

Our tasks are before us. Our ideas are clear, the party is in the lead and we shall overcome all the obstacles facing us.

There are old people here who remember that at the turn of the century socialists used to be looked upon as eccentric people, caught in the web of an idea which will never be realized; later on, communists were persecuted and hated, and were also considered eccentrics. Even at the Horthy police headquarters we came across detectives who—after the beatings and torture—asked us sort of unofficially: "Aren't you crazy? What is communism for which you undergo all these beatings? It will never be achieved." This is what the Horthyites said in 1931, 1933 and 1936. They buried our system and our ideas in 1956, too. Where is that social class, where are the people who labelled socialists eccentric at the turn of the century, then branded the communists in the same way, and buried the Hungarian People's Republic in 1956? They are gone. But the Hungarian people are here, people's power is firm, we have laid the foundations of socialism and are continuing our work for the completion of a socialist society.

When Marx and Engels came on the scene, followed later by Lenin, when the Soviet Union was born, the imperialists and capitalists did the same thing the world over: they hated them and were furious with them, and at the same time they disparaged and disdained them. Marx was looked upon as a cranky economist who had done a lot of scribbling in a library over twenty years, but not even three people knew what it was all about—this is how bourgeois scientists ridiculed him at that time. When the Soviet Union was born, some gave it three weeks,

others two or three months. And where are those gentlemen now, with their prophecies and disparagement? The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is alive and advancing, the Soviet people are building communism and one thousand million people are building socialism the world over.

These are the historic achievements of the grand ideas guiding us; they were born in struggle and inspire us to continued efforts. We are convinced of the complete and final victory of our ideas, and the attainment of our objectives.

Our party, our government and the Patriotic People's Front are confident in the support of the voters in the capital and the provinces, in the backing of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. We are convinced that the election results will continue to strengthen our system and will add to the reputation of the Hungarian People's Republic the world over.

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

March 21, 1963

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

I would like to express, first of all, my sincere thanks to the National Assembly for its confidence, for the approval of the appointment of the government. With regard to the changes in the composition of the government, I can state that, so far as the comrades just relieved from their posts are concerned, we have been working with them, all along, in the closest political unity, and their replacement is only due to the practical requirements of the work. We are looking forward to the work of the newly appointed members of the Council of Ministers with the greatest expectations in this respect, too.

Reiterating our thanks for the confidence expressed toward the government, I would like to assure the National Assembly in the name of every member of the Council of Ministers that we shall do our best to prove with our work that we are worthy of this confidence.

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

I am taking this opportunity to dwell—without pretending to be all-embracing—on the position of the government on a number of topical questions.

The fact that the February 24, 1963, elections for the National Assembly and for the local councils demonstrated the firm political unity of our people and that the voters gave their united support to the candidates of the Patriotic People's Front is of great significance for the evaluation of our work in the future.

I would like to call your attention to the main factors which had a

decisive bearing on the elections: the outstanding activity of the masses during the election campaign, and the participation of almost one half of the electors—3,400,000 people—at the nomination meetings. The tireless and enthusiastic work of over one million people in the various committees contributed greatly to the success of the elections.

Out of the 7,100,000 citizens who were eligible to vote, only 200,000 failed to make use of their franchise, and there were 75,000 who voted against the candidates of the Patriotic People's Front. Viewing the election results realistically, however, we must also take into consideration the fact that there were some voters supporting the candidates of the Patriotic People's Front whose confidence we do not yet possess to the full extent. They obviously voted for the list with something like the idea that "it could be worse." All our experiences prove that, in the course of correct practice, tomorrow the idea is bound to convince and enlist even those people who are still vacillating today. This entails a responsibility on us.

The decisive fact, however, from the point of view of the exact evaluation of the election results and of the possibilities for future work is that the overwhelming majority of the electors supported, with firm political consciousness and full inner approval, the objectives and candidates of the Patriotic People's Front. We can state that the parliamentary and council elections of February 24, 1963, resulted in a grand political victory for the party, the Patriotic People's Front and our system.

Our people expressed their deep and firm confidence in our policies with their votes on election day; this is a fresh source of strength for us, and a new, still greater obligation. Our compatriots who voted for the candidates of the Patriotic People's Front may rest assured that all of us, the National Assembly, the government and the elected members of the councils, will strive to become worthy of that trust.

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

It is the responsibility of the National Assembly and of the government to elaborate plans which properly advance the objectives of socialist construction. The legislature and the government shall lead and guide the work of socialist construction and ensure all the necessary prerequisites for the proper implementation of our grand

country-building objectives, in the proper time and order and for the benefit of our people.

The responsibility of the councils in the capital, in the counties, towns, districts, rural regions and villages is, first, to advance the implementation of the national plans in their own area; secondly, to solve local problems with assistance from above and by local forces; thirdly, to deal conscientiously and properly with the everyday personal concerns of the people and to solve them.

The National Assembly itself has obviously new tasks in legislation during this new period of our development when our people are engaged in the complete building up of socialist society, and when the character of our state is developing from the dictatorship of the proletariat into an all-people's state.

We must strive toward the continued development of socialist democracy. The forces of our society, the working masses, must be ever more involved in the exercise of power, in the work of administration and control.

It is clear that in developing our system of franchise and in the election of deputies there can and must be a bolder application and generalization of those good experiences which we gained during the council elections in each election precinct and by the nomination of several people for one post. Lastly, this National Assembly must deal, in accordance with the changed social relationships, with the development of our Constitution.

Although the responsibilities can only be indicated here, it is evident that the National Assembly and the councils elected on February 24 are facing a big job. To lead this work, the National Assembly has just elected its own officials and the Presidential Council of the People's Republic. In the face of these grand, lofty and inspiring tasks permit me to extend, in the name of the government, our best wishes for successful work to the members of the National Assembly and the councils, to the newly elected officials of the National Assembly and to the members of the Presidential Council.

As we emphasized during the period of the elections, the government does not have a new programme. The programme and the main directives for the work of the government of the Hungarian People's Republic are given by the resolutions of the Eighth Congress of the

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the programmatic statements of the Patriotic People's Front. We must work to complete the building of socialism; we must continue to strengthen the socialist national unity of our country, to fulfil and overfulfil, in harmony with our economic objectives, the Second Five-Year Plan, which sets the target of raising our national income by 36 per cent, industrial production by 48 to 50 per cent, agricultural production by 22 to 23 per cent, the fund for consumption by 22 to 23 per cent, and per capita real income by 16 to 17 per cent. We must strengthen the Hungarian People's Republic in all respects, enhance the culture of the Hungarian people, and raise the level of its economic, cultural and social standards. All this means in practice the unbroken continuation and development of the main political line of the past years, in keeping with the new requirements of our advance.

Our internal situation is determined and our development facilitated by the fact that there are no more irreconcilably antagonistic classes in our country, that the interests of the community and of the individual coincide, and that the ideals of the working class, the revolutionary consciousness and the patriotism of the working people and the material interests of the individual workers are in harmony.

The main support of our policy is the alliance of the working class, the banner-bearer of socialism, of the peasantry, the intellectuals, of all working classes, established for the building of a socialist society. Our objective is the cohesion of party members and non-party people, the establishment of socialist national unity.

The internal policy of the government aims to continue safeguarding and further consolidating the socialist rule of law. Starting out from the principle of equal rights of citizens, the government considers it its duty to continue to honour the laws which apply equally to all people and to make everybody observe them.

Simultaneously with, and in the course of, building a socialist society in the Hungarian People's Republic, class antagonisms will be resolved; discrimination and oppression because of nationality, race or religion are unknown in our country. In our free society of labour, where privileged and detrimental differentiations have been abolished, fundamental human rights exist not merely in words, but they prevail in reality, to an ever greater extent.

A number of complicated problems have been solved by now in the course of our social development; important steps have been taken to find a sound solution for some others. Let me mention some of them.

The relation between the State and the Church in Hungary is normal; it is regulated by agreements and is continuously improving. The scientific and religious ideologies are naturally opposed, but the State ensures the free exercise of religion, the Churches accept the laws of the State; therefore, there is no need for a political struggle to be waged between us.

There are still problems awaiting settlement between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Churches functioning in our country, and obviously there will be such in the future as well. It is the government's opinion that arising problems can and must be solved in a fashion acceptable to both parties, by respecting the laws and the legal order of the State, while taking into account the internal laws and the order of the Church.

Believers and non-believers alike are citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic. It is in our common interest to do away with the last vestiges of the exploiting capitalist society and to construct the free socialist society of the working people.

We continue with our struggle and work for the complete victory of socialism in production and social relations. Socialist relations of production became victorious in all branches of our national economy. We are faced now with the task of the consolidation of the socialist relations of production and a large-scale development of the productive forces. At present, there is a competition on a world-wide scale between the capitalist and socialist systems. Lenin clearly outlined our tasks when he pointed out that the new, socialist society will have finally defeated the old one, capitalism, when it will have established a greater productivity of labour than that which prevailed in the old system.

We accomplished this objective in so far as our country and the past are concerned. But this is not enough. We shall strive to reach and surpass as soon as possible the level of the most advanced capitalist countries in achieving a higher productivity of labour in more and more branches of production. There is no doubt that we can and shall accomplish this objective, too, thanks to our superior social system

and the liberated, creative forces of our people within an historically not too long period.

No one should think, however, that in the struggle for a higher productivity of labour our society is faced with responsibilities only in the economic and material fields, in the sphere of technical development. The ideological struggle is of primary and special importance in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism, for it reacts on the material foundations of society. We must work persistently for the ever greater assertion of the socialist idea, of the Marxist-Leninist scientific world outlook, and for its deepest penetration into public education, the arts and culture. This ideological struggle is led and guided by the party. However, the state, our public institutions, the different social organizations also have their own tasks in this struggle.

The major and best weapon of the ideological struggle is the propagation of the socialist idea, argumentation, a convincing discussion by means of arguments. It must be completely clear that the ideological struggle of people representing the socialist idea is waged for the victory of the idea, against erroneous views, and not against people but for people. Only an ideological struggle and Marxist-Leninist education conceived in this sense can result in overcoming the erroneous views prevailing in the thinking of people who are already in political agreement and work with us in building socialism, and overcoming them in such a way as not to entail a loosening of the existing political agreement and alliance, but on the contrary to strengthen it.

Setting an example plays a tremendous role even in the ideological struggle, in socialism gaining the upper hand in the thinking, morality and attitude of people, and in labour, this most important social activity of man. Our party and society are given tremendous assistance in this sphere by the hundreds of thousands of conscious adult and young working people who are participating in the socialist brigade movement which is developing in a healthy manner, and who are setting an example by following and implementing the slogan of "Live, learn and work in a socialist manner."

The government is following consistently its principles of economic policy which have prevailed before, and continues its practical economic activities. This economic policy is furthering comprehensively

the development of socialist industry, large-scale socialist agriculture, of transportation and commerce, and also the creation of the economic and technical prerequisites for the completion of socialist society and the transition to the building of communism.

Our principle of economic policy, which is that the building of a socialist society must go side by side with the systematic rising and developing of the living standard of the working people, remains unchanged.

The economic activities in recent months were extremely hampered by the early onset of a rigorous and long winter, it is hampered now by inland water and floods, resulting from the quick thaw and affecting at its high point about 500,000 *hold* of land. We have basically overcome the vicissitudes of the weather, the transitional coal shortage during the cold spell, the transportation difficulties, and the ravages of the water in March, thanks to the conscious steadfastness of the working people.

Hundreds of thousands of miners, workers in industry, transport, water control, public service and trade, our soldiers and Workers' Militia who were mobilized for the most difficult spots, the youth and volunteers from the population at large, stood their ground in an exemplary fashion. There have been so many instances of outstanding steadfastness that it is difficult to single out cases or individuals.

Nevertheless, I consider it my duty to express here, from the platform of the National Assembly, the appreciation of the government, and to thank the Hungarian miners, all mining executives and workers for their feat last January and February when, overcoming unheard-of difficulties, they provided the country with more than 300,000 tons of coal above plan.

Permit me to refer to a pleasant and moving incident illustrating this steadfastness in face of the vicissitudes of winter. I received a letter last February, during the period of the mid-term distribution of report cards, from Erzsébet Risai, a general school pupil at Alsóegreskáta and a member of the Young Pioneers: "...I am a squad leader and am proud to report that the boys and girls in the seventh and eighth grades haven't missed a single day of school since early September. Ours is a little school in a hamlet. No matter how cold it was, many of the children walked a distance of seven kilometres in

order not to miss class and to learn . . .” The children also pledge to work diligently and get good marks during the second term.

We all know that during the worst days of winter, in heavy snowdrifts, the drivers, conductors and even the passengers of buses transporting the miners worked hard, shovelled snow, cleared the road and often even pushed the bus in order to get to the mine and to dig the coal needed to keep the country going.

We can also actually visualize these children, boys and girls, who walked across the fields through snowdrifts for kilometres to keep their pledge, namely that they were not going to miss a single school-day during the term.

This unity and staunchness imbued with a socialist spirit, which reaches from the miners working underground to the children of a school in a snow-covered hamlet, makes up that broad front and that power by which our people will overcome all difficulties.

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

The severe winter caused considerable damage to our national economy. The additional expenses of the railways, transport services, mining, forestry and other works, and the community expenses of snow removal amounted to approximately 600,000,000 forints. To this one must add the damage caused by the water, and the shortages and lags in production due to the inclement January and February weather.

Our 1963 plan laid down important responsibilities and called for great efforts. Greater and more coordinated efforts were called for to reach the targets in productivity and production cost. A lot has to be done in the sphere of investments, of technical development and quality improvement. On top of all these came the difficulties caused by the weather.

Our most immediate task in industry, agriculture, transport and trade, and in other fields, is to overcome the difficulties deriving from the extreme weather conditions and make up for the lag in production. It is necessary to take the proper measures and to have a plan of action in industry, especially in oil output, the production of building material and of fuel, and in transport. The measures to be taken on a government level have in the greater part been prepared and made

public. We call upon our economic executives and the workers to assist us in their speediest implementation.

We likewise call upon the executives of the state farms and the cooperative farms, all workers in Hungarian agriculture, to finish well and as soon as possible, by fully utilizing all available means, the farm work which piled up because of the late coming of spring and the ploughing left from autumn. This winter gave us a tough job, and spring also arrived amidst extraordinary difficulties. We have overcome quite a lot of our difficulties and the possibilities are on hand to do away with the rest of them during the year. We are in a position to make up almost fully for the lag in production, and make it up we must, both in industry and in agriculture, in our entire national economy during the year.

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

When dealing with the difficulties apparent in our economy I must state that they are transitional, but the foundations upon which our national economy is based and developing are permanent and firm. Let me cite a few examples in support of this statement.

We have already referred to the unusually inclement weather and the lack of fuel which caused considerable difficulties in industry, in transport and in the heating of homes. When evaluating the winter, however, it must also be considered that, despite the extraordinary weather difficulties, public provision and living conditions in our country were satisfactory this winter, too.

It is testimony to the strength of our national economy that, although compared to last winter 24 per cent more fuel, 160 wagonloads more lard, 200 wagonloads more meat and 470 wagonloads more sugar were used up this winter, we were in a position to ensure an uninterrupted supply from our national reserves during the entire winter. The increased requirements for water, gas and electric power were ensured by our public utilities under extremely difficult conditions and with great efforts on the part of the employees working in these public utility plants.

The present lag in oil production is not due to the negligence of the employees, but to the far greater natural gas consumption owing to the coal shortage. We asked the workers in the oil industry to give

us somewhat more gas, and this they did. Household consumers used fourteen per cent more gas this winter than in the past.

The fulfilment of the 1962 plan also proves the solidity of our national economy. Industrial production in 1962, as is known, rose by 9 per cent, gross agricultural production reached the level of the previous year, state purchases in agriculture surpassed last year's level by 6.5 per cent; in transport, goods traffic rose by 6 per cent and passenger traffic by 9 per cent compared to the previous year. We spent 13.5 per cent more for investment and renovation than in 1961. The development of our national economy in general, except for the drought-stricken agriculture, corresponded to or surpassed the targets of the Five-Year Plan set for 1962. In 1962, the total money income of the population surpassed that of 1961 by 4.2 per cent.

In January–February this year, despite the considerable drop in the income of building workers owing to the interruption in work caused by the cold, the total amount paid out in wages and salaries surpassed the level of January–February, 1962 by 7 per cent. The total amount of the share paid out at this year's closing of accounts of the cooperative farms also increased considerably compared to last year. Savings accounts in February totalled more than 10,000 million forints.

The final acceptance of the 1963 year plan on time and according to the proper procedure is also indicative of the improvement of the work in the national economy. The plan was approved by the government on December 13, and the ministries handed it out broken down for the enterprises by December 31.

I would like to make one more general reference to pinpoint the stability of our national economy. Many important and difficult tasks had to be solved during the last few years. The socialist reorganization of agriculture was completed and our agriculture was hit by two successive heavy droughts. Considerable investments had to be carried out in industry to modernize the means of production. A large-scale mechanization took place in agriculture. The equipment of our armed forces had to be modernized to quite an extent. All these great tasks have been solved by our national economy while at the same time there has been a further improvement in the living standard of the working people.

During the same period, the country also met its considerable international payment obligations.

It is public knowledge in our country that, thanks to the economic assistance given by the governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, we were able to overcome the economic paralysis and chaos caused by the 1956 counter-revolutionary insurrection which led to a damage of approximately 22,000 million forints. In addition to immediate assistance, without repayment, we obtain a considerable amount of economic assistance, raw material, electric power, and manufactured goods on long-term credits from these socialist countries.

The very fact that we have been able, ever since 1958, to meet our export obligations to the friendly countries and our payment obligations to the capitalist countries, while accomplishing the aforementioned great economic tasks and further improving the living standard of the working people, is testimony to the labour and steadfastness of our working people, the strength and stability of our national economy. A considerable part of the long-term credits from the friendly countries, about 40 per cent, to the value of 1,500 million forints, have already been repaid. During this period we also met our obligations for reparations to Yugoslavia in line with the peace treaty; this has also been remitted.

The Hungarian People's Republic thus increased its prestige as a solid, reliable partner, with regard to friendly countries as well as capitalist concerns maintaining trade relations with us.

Comrades,

Our principles of economic policy have been tested in practice, we have achieved considerable results in this field. Our plan is good and realistic. The 1963 plan properly advances the objectives of Five-Year Plan.

The government submitted, through the Presidential Council, the bill on the 1963 budget. The budget submitted shows a balance, in fact even some surplus income is anticipated. The grand total of close to 90,000 million forints expenditure, in harmony with the approximately 58,500 million forints allocated for investment and modernization in the 1963 plan, is security for the proper implementation of

the yearly plan, for the further improvement of living conditions, cultural and health standards of our people, for the strengthening of our national defence. We ask the National Assembly to consider and support this proposed budget.

We ask our economic executives, our working people to work devotedly to implement our economic plan and to support our endeavours to build a socialist society and to constantly improve the living conditions of our working people.

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

The realization that the international prerequisites of our development are also assured is a great source of strength for the continued creative work of our people.

I am not going to undertake a detailed analysis of the international situation. There has been a certain relaxation in the international situation compared to the state of affairs of last October and November. The struggle between the forces of imperialism and agression and the forces of progress is, of course, continuing in international affairs.

The foreign policy of our government is well known and does not change. This foreign policy stems from and follows the safeguarding of the interests of our people and of their great achievements, our national independence and our socialist system; at the same time we want to be worthy of our internationalist obligations incumbent on our people and our socialist country.

Accordingly, the major objective of our foreign policy is the preservation of peace and loyal service to the cause of progress. We advocate and follow the principle of peaceful coexistence, together with all socialist countries.

We are advocating and furthering normal relations between countries with different social systems and the solution of disputed international problems through negotiations. We do it in the conviction that this policy is most suitable to the interests of our own people and of mankind, and at the same time best serves the cause of social progress on a world-wide scale. It is in this spirit that we are supporting the proposals of the Soviet Union serving the security and the peace of the peoples; their objective is the termination of nuclear tests, the solution of the West Berlin question and the German peace

treaty, the signing of a non-aggression pact between the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty, and for the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

The essential and unchanged feature of our foreign policy is that our country is proceeding in the closest alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the countries united in the Warsaw Treaty, with all the countries of the world socialist system and with the detachments of the international revolutionary working-class movement. In our measures of foreign policy we continue to march side by side with the peoples and countries fighting for progress and against imperialism, and with all those who, as supporters of peace, are combating the forces of imperialism and aggression throughout the world, in every country.

We wish to normalize and improve our relations with all states. As is customary, the Hungarian People's Republic is carrying on simultaneously political negotiations along several lines. We are of the opinion that there is not one disputed question on which agreement could not be reached on the basis of respecting mutual interests, if the objective is really to arrive at agreement and if the negotiating parties are striving to achieve it.

Our people can face the future with confidence because our forces are united here at home for the building of socialism and internationally we are relying upon the firm, mighty, and invincible forces of socialism and peace.

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the ideological and leading force of our society, analysed the position of our society at the Eighth Congress, and stated that by carrying out the socialist reorganization of agriculture we completed the laying down of the foundations of socialist society, and our people has entered into the period of the building of socialist society. This is an historical milestone on the road of the progress of our people, of our nation.

This historical milestone marks the achievements of the last six and a half years, and looking further back into the past, the victory of the struggle of the eighteen fighting and eventful years, rich in splendid achievements, which have elapsed since our liberation.

Eighteen years ago Horthyite Hungary was a satellite of Hitler, faced with the danger of national annihilation. Six and a half years ago international reaction was jubilant; our homeland was bleeding from a thousand wounds, but our people withstood every storm and overcame all difficulties under the banner of socialism. The independent, free, democratic and socialist Hungarian People's Republic lives, is vigorous and is advancing.

The fascist dictatorship of the capitalists and landowners was irrevocably destroyed as a result of these eighteen years of struggle. The power in this country belongs to the people. The economic and social possibility for the restoration of capitalism no longer exists in the country. United with the international forces of socialism, we can say that there is not a single force, either at home or abroad, which can turn back the wheels of history: the socialist order of society has irrevocably triumphed in our country.

Our people in its struggle has received and benefited at all times from the support of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the international working class. In our domestic development it has been the historical achievement of the working class and of its revolutionary party that our people has been led out of the inferno of the Second World War, and out of servitude, on to the wide and secure highway of free socialist development.

The rallying of what are our present-day forces began during the darkest period of the Second World War, in the midst of persecution and underground conditions. This is why the tremendous development of the past nearly two decades is the historical justification, success and victory of working-class unity, of the worker-peasant alliance, of the idea of the people's front and of patriotic solidarity.

Led by the working class, the revolutionary party of the working class, our people defeated all their enemies, the forces of the days of the capitalists and landowners and of reaction, in the struggle for power; it overcame the distortions of the personality cult, the obsessed dogmatists who became alienated from and lost touch with the party and the people; it defeated the revisionist traitors and the class enemy, and the counter-revolutionary insurrection.

If we recall the country in ruins which our people inherited at the dawn of freedom from the masters—capitalists and landowners—of

the old days, if we recall the difficult years, the inflation, the harm done by the dogmatic economic policy, the material destruction caused by the counter-revolution, only then are we in a position to realize the unheard-of difficulties overcome by our people in the economic efforts of building the country.

In place of the ruins of eighteen years ago, we have now a steadily developing and advancing country. The party is guiding with a firm hand, the people's power is consolidated, the international prestige of the country is growing. Perhaps the most important of all is the fact that a people with a wealth of political experience, strengthened and unified in socialist thinking, has rallied around the party; a people which is working for a still brighter future with confidence in its own strength.

It is also an outstanding achievement that a new, ever-growing community spirit has been developed in our country, and that there is a new sense of value in place of the old prerogatives of birth, wealth and other inherited rights in evaluating people. The victory of the socialist ideal, the present general situation in the country, and the changed class relationships make it possible to evaluate people in a new and correct manner. People should not be evaluated any more on the basis of their origin or a former stand as party affiliation, old views or one-time prejudices, since the thinking of the entire people and of individuals has changed and developed. When evaluating people we start out from the fundamental relations to our People's Democracy, to steadfastness on the job, whether they are willing and able to participate and whether they are participating in the grand labour of socialist construction—this is more important than anything else.

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

Having laid the foundations of a socialist society, having entered into the period of completion of a socialist society, having reviewed the years of struggle with its experiences, and considering the fact that our system is solid and the political unity of our people is firm, we believe we can settle and must settle a few problems from the past.

The socialist rule of law has been restored in all respects and completely in our country. No one can take a stand, and go un-

punished, against our system or violate our socialist laws, and this goes for those, too, who exercise power.

The Hungarian People's Republic has waged a determined struggle against criminals aiming at subverting our socialist achievements and threatening public order. It is resolved to strike ruthlessly at those who are committing similar offences; at the same time it can, in a spirit of humanitarianism, pardon those who sinned against the system or public order, and wishes to give them an opportunity to find their place again in society through honest labour.

Proceeding from these considerations, the government proposed to the Presidential Council that it issue an order granting amnesty on a wide scale. The amnesty covers acts committed in different periods of the recent past. Amnesty is granted war criminals in cases where certain conditions prevail; it extends to those who violated the law by abusing their power during the years of the personality cult, to persons convicted for committing counter-revolutionary acts or crimes against the state during the past six years. Amnesty is also granted to those who left the country's territory without permission. Finally, the amnesty covers various groups of people who committed crimes against public law.

We proposed amnesty, moreover, for persons sentenced to correctional-educational work and those who violated regulations. We also proposed that the criminal records of a considerable part of those convicted in the past, or those sentenced for offences, shall be struck from the record and they shall be absolved of legal disadvantages.

In cases of acts against the state, the pardon does not cover, however, persons guilty of espionage and high treason, while in cases of public law those convicted of murder and arson. The general amnesty does not cover recidivists; at the same time, the amnesty decree makes it possible for those excluded from the general pardon to ask for and be granted amnesty on the basis of review of individual cases.

The proper application of severity and pardon, the necessary safeguarding of our state and social system impel us to tell everybody not to misunderstand the amnesty decree and also to consider persons who eventually may turn out to be incorrigible. Accordingly, persons being pardoned now, but who commit a new crime within a period of three years, would, according to the decree, lose the benefit of

pardon besides being called to account for the new crime. In this case the old sentence meted out for the earlier act would again be applied.

The Presidential Council approved and supported the amnesty decree submitted by the government and enacted it into law. The decree is being published and will be carried out by April 4, our country's Day of Liberation.

This amnesty decree, in our judgement, is timely and correct. It flows from the strength of our system, its socialist humanism and humanitarianism. Now, when our people and our system are entering into the period of the complete building up of socialist society, it is correct to extend the opportunity to all those—whether they be at home or got somehow beyond our borders—who committed crimes against it in the past, to start a new life, to bury the past, to take the path of honour and find their place in our society amidst the millions of decent working people.

Honoured Assembly, Dear Comrades,

In the foregoing I wished to expound the position of our government on a few problems. I did it in the conviction that the National Assembly and our people approve and support the policy which our government is furthering. The government has been enjoying in its work the support of the National Assembly, the councils and the masses of people. We ask this indispensable help also for the future work of the government.

Today, our party, government and people are united and welded together. It is our conviction that by firmly adhering to our principles and policies, cementing our unity, and working hard, we are proceeding with sure steps. It is our conviction that this path will lead us to new successes and we shall score new victories for the benefit of peace, socialism, the Hungarian working people and the country.

The historical path of our people was long and tortuous; plenty of blood and tears were shed in the course of the struggles, but the struggle has not been in vain; the just cause of the people emerged triumphant. Our people is marching now in the forefront of social progress, its banner held high. If every loyal son and daughter of our people's homeland remains firm, if everybody works creatively in

their own profession and on their job, persevering and doing their utmost, then the great job will soon be completed by the will of the millions, a socialist Hungary will be built.

The Hungarian people are marching in close-knit unity, on the same road with the great Soviet people. This is why our achievements are indefeasible, and the Hungarian People's Republic is indestructibly firm and strong. This is why the Hungarian people are in a position to contribute to the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism, for the benefit of all mankind.

SPEECH AT THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN TRADE UNIONS

May 11, 1963

Delegates to the Congress, Dear Comrades,

Permit me to convey to you, on behalf of the Central Committee of our party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and of the government of the Hungarian People's Republic, and through you to the more than 300,000 functionaries and more than two-and-a-half million members of the Hungarian Trade Unions our revolutionary, socialist and fraternal greetings.

The Central Committee of our party and the government of our People's Republic greet sincerely and whole-heartedly all those comrades and friends who have come from the various countries of the globe, representing the sister unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions, who have honoured with their appearance the Twentieth Congress of our trade unions and, by their constructive contributions, have given help to our work. Their remarks have largely contributed to strengthening at this Congress the unity of the revolutionary workers' movement of the world, a cause vital and sacred to us.

Comrades,

It can be stated that the Twentieth Congress of the Hungarian Trade Unions is a useful and essential contribution to the development of the Hungarian trade union movement, and to building socialism in our country. We hope it will be, even if to a modest degree, a contribution to the world-wide struggle of the international working class.

Both in the reports and in the discussions the question frequently arose as to how, to what an extent and how successfully the Hungarian

trade union movement is helping to implement the policy of our party. Therefore permit me to say a few words about this policy.

The policy of our party is consistent; for years it has been developing without a break and is becoming ever firmer. Toward the end of last year the highest forum of the party, the Congress, approved and carried ahead this policy, its main line, and then, at the elections for the National Assembly and the councils, our election programme, i.e. the policy of the party, was approved by our entire people, too. All of us who, in our country, are working to realize that policy, can pursue this activity with this high mandate and the approval of our entire party and our people.

We have the directives, our resolutions pointing the way. The itemized summary of our economic and cultural aims: our Second Five-Year Plan has been confirmed. We think that now, after approval by the Party Congress and by our people, our major task should be to implement it, to realize it in actual life. One could also say that after having analysed our tasks and the concrete situation, and having passed a decision on it, the time has now come for action.

Comrades,

Life has forced us, following the counter-revolution of 1956, to re-examine practically all essential problems of our society: we had to sum up the experiences, analyse the situation and determine the line. I think you who are present here, and all of you who are working actively for our great cause of socialist construction, will agree that today we know whither we shall go and what to do whether it concerns a question of theory or an important sphere of practical work. The main thing now is how we can implement the resolutions faster, more efficiently and as soon as possible. The decisive element of our action is to achieve the correct objectives so that then we may be able to set forth new goals for our party, our trade unions, our working class and our whole people.

Comrades,

Permit me to mention the main elements of our policy. Not for one moment should we lose sight of them, and so I have to speak of them also at this Congress.

On the international plane we fight for social progress, for the liquidation of colonialism, for general and complete disarmament, for a lasting and stable peace. We are not fighting against peoples or states; we are fighting against imperialism, against the imperialists and warmongers, against the monopolist and militarist circles in the United States, West Germany and the other leading imperialist countries, and against their adventurist policy endangering peace.

This is a long-lasting and unceasing fight which rallies the entire international working class, all freedom-loving oppressed and dependent peoples as well as those already free, every honest peace-loving man. This fight will go on until we have won full victory and have completely eliminated imperialism and with it the threat of war from the life of mankind.

We, too, are part of the great force defending peace. Our weapons are justice, our material strength and our national defence. Our weapon is our just and invincible idea, Marxism–Leninism. This is the idea which, in the present epoch, properly determines the decisive tasks of the class struggle; it is a mighty weapon because it rallies millions in all countries of the world. Our weapon in this struggle is our internationalism, the fact that we fight not isolated and alone but together with the other great forces of progress and peace.

We are united and fight alongside the revolutionary detachments of the international working class, the revolutionary vanguards of the working classes of the various countries: their communist and workers' parties, and with every revolutionary force of the working class, every progressive force. Our party, our people building socialism support the world-wide efforts of the trade unions for united action. We back whole-heartedly and solidly the correct programme of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We profess solidarity and fight side by side with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whether they are languishing under the yoke of old-time colonialism or trying to get rid of the influence of the neo-colonialists. Everybody knows that in our times the colonial peoples can fight successfully for national independence and liberation because there exists in the world a Soviet Union, a socialist world system which stands unwaveringly at their side, giving moral and material assistance to their fight for freedom.

We support and march together with every man and every movement that fights for peace in all countries of the world.

Our fight for peace flows from the iron laws of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class. Many old-time trade unionists who are present here know the old slogan that it is the elementary duty of the trade unions to safeguard the everyday interests of the workers, the working people. Well, how can we protect and represent the everyday interests of the working people if we do not place emphasis on the safeguarding of peace?

Let me emphasize that we communist revolutionaries, we Hungarian workers, our entire people building socialism, are marching in unity, shoulder to shoulder with the great Soviet people.

The efforts and work of our party, of the trade unions, of our whole people have brought considerable progress in the recent period. Today we take our friends, and even non-friends, to any town or village, factory, institute or theatre, anywhere. Even our enemies have noted that today Hungary is not like it was in October, 1956. A lot of "philosophizing" is going on about developments in Hungary, how conditions in Hungary have become "liberalized." Some persons are even day-dreaming of Soviet troops leaving the country, followed by "free elections" and so on.

The presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is not due to internal social causes. If the imperialists want the Soviet troops to leave Hungary, then American troops should pull out from somewhere else.

If we were told that the Soviet troops would be withdrawn from here, and the Americans from elsewhere, we would not be afraid. We would say: let us look into it and examine the question. But just let them broach to Adenauer that a battalion of American troops should leave Berlin, and he would immediately declare that the entire system would collapse, the end of the world would follow.

Without going into further details, I want to say that, to begin with, what is taking place in Hungary is not liberalization but socialist development. Our policy is based on Marxist-Leninist principles, it is a socialist, a communist policy. Naturally, our system is a humane one because socialism, communism, by its very essence, is the most humane ideology. Firstly, our opponents should take note of this fact.

Secondly, every progressive force of international life, the community of the socialist countries which our people loyally adhere to, may count on us. Every progressive endeavour, all forces fighting for the final liquidation of colonialism and for peace, can expect our support. Let me add: the governments of all countries including that of the United States, may count on us if they are willing to settle disputed international issues by negotiations, listening to the voice of common sense and respecting the independence, national sovereignty and socialist progress of the Hungarian people. We are willing to discuss every question. In our opinion, agreement could be arrived at on many matters. It is our conviction that this would be to the advantage of all countries.

In 1956, we caused a lot of difficulties to our Soviet brothers, to all peoples building socialism, to the international communist movement, to the most diverse progressive forces. The flood of imperialist propaganda succeeded at the time to rouse the interest of people throughout the world, even where previously they had not even known of our existence. And because of this people everywhere are greatly interested as to what is going on in Hungary. Fortunately, we can say that the situation has changed here. Now our aim should be to create a state of affairs in Hungary which will enable our Soviet or other socialist brothers, or guests arriving from other countries, including the West, to give an effective answer to the question, "Well, how are things in Hungary?" They should be able to answer in a way that will strengthen our cause and help the struggle of our friends. This is our proletarian, internationalist duty.

There is a strong feeling of internationalism among our working class. It must also be said that its feeling of national pride is strong, too. Both flow from our people's history. Well, both our internationalism and our national pride should remind us every day that no matter what we do it should be done well, so that it could be safely presented anywhere as the achievement and product of work of a people building socialism.

Comrades,

Now let me speak of our internal affairs. I think there is no need to prove that the style of work has changed here as shown by the

debate. The debate was free of all rhetorics or demagogy. Serious questions were discussed in a serious and sensible manner. In short, phrase-mongering is a thing of the past, fortunately; let us not bring it back.

When discussing serious matters we are not hide-bound by misinterpreted politeness or good manners; we are used to calling things by their name. So I ask you not take it as mere politeness if I say that the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party highly values the Hungarian trade union movement and regards it as a bulwark in struggle and work.

The trade unions are the class organization that welds most firmly our party—the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—with its own class and cements it to an ever growing extent with the working people, the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Naturally, there are still many weaknesses, we heard enough of that during the discussions. However, it is better for you yourselves to criticize trade union work wherever necessary than for me to exercise self-criticism in your stead. The main point is that the trade unions have given great and important assistance to the party's struggle on all decisive questions. They have helped to strengthen the power of the working class, in constructive work, in production, in public education, even in culture and in many other spheres. Everybody who works in the trade unions, either as full-time functionary or otherwise, must realize this. This is the moral content of the work. There is no remuneration, nor should there be, for what one does at the dictate of class-consciousness. There is no bonus which could substitute for knowing that I have been able to render a service to my class, to the working people, that I have helped along their great and historic struggle to build socialism.

The trade unions also helped greatly to strengthen socialist consciousness. Consciousness plays an important and ever growing role in initiating and organizing socialist emulation, in organizing and propagating the movement of socialist brigades, and in many other spheres. It is noteworthy that several speakers likewise stressed that while encouraging the organization of brigades fighting for the socialist title we should not compromise an iota on the magnificence and enormous moral power of this movement. It is better to have thirty-

eight brigades instead of thirty-nine than to yield an inch on the great moral strength of the movement.

There is nothing new in the fact that the trade unions are mainstays of the party. As we know, before Liberation, during the quarter century of the fascist Horthy regime, trade unions were the main support of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, of its most conscious fighters in the class struggle. Through the unions, the underground Communist Party had extensive contacts with the working class. This is a noble tradition in our country, and it is evidently proper to state that after 1956 the old and wholesome relations between the party and the trade unions were restored.

We agreed on the correct slogan that the trade unions, the biggest class organizations of the working class, cannot be independent of their revolutionary vanguard, of the party; but it is necessary that they be free to manage their own affairs. This is necessary for them to work effectively and successfully, they need independence. If ideological and political guidance is not accompanied by organizational independence, then, I frankly say, this is not a trade union but a Circumlocution Office.

Comrades,

I do not know the proportion between party members and non-party people in this hall. I do know, however, that a good part of the more than 300,000 trade union officials are non-party people. And these people whole-heartedly accept and propagate the policy of the party and fight to implement it.

Let us recall there were years when the percentage of organized workers was not 90 per cent as it is now, but 100 and sometimes even 102 per cent. The ratio of dues payment was also quite high, because organization was simplified and trade union dues were deducted from the wages. This is not done any more. Now the trade unions are self-supporting. The present 90 per cent organization may increase later. But after the earlier, negative phase of development this is heartening because it shows that now members are not pushed to join the trade unions but are being persuaded. I know that today there is no deduction of trade union dues; yet the ratio of dues payment is extremely high, and this is encouraging.

We can safely say that the trade unions are splendid comrades-in-arms of the party, and the line followed by them is also sound from the viewpoint of progress. And this is not such a simple matter.

To work properly today the trade unions must take into consideration the changed social relations in our country. The situation is different in a country where the power is in the hands of the capitalist class, where the capitalists pocket the surplus value, and where the proletarian is really a proletarian because he owns no property apart from his labour power. And it is different here where the proletariat is no more a proletariat but a working class holding power and exercising power, and through it disposes of the goods, the product of its labour. Here the situation is more complicated.

The trade unions must be concerned with production, for in our country the working class is its own boss. The worker does the work, but he also disposes of the means of production and the product of his labour. Thus he could—figuratively speaking—submit his list of demands to himself actually, for in a class sense this is really the case.

In our country, the trade unions have found the proper road; they have evolved the appropriate aims and methods of work in line with socialist relations. We may say that in our country the trade unions have become the schools of communism in the sense defined by Lenin.

Our trade unions have already taken over a number of complicated and major tasks from the state: social security, health service, organized holidays and many other things. As we see, society is already administering its own affairs in many respects, and numerous tasks are already handled by the trade unions with more to come.

The propagandists of the bourgeoisie are, of course, not at all pleased with our trade unions. They argue: "What kind of a trade union is there if there are no strikes? Look at us: we have freedom, there are strikes, in France as well as in West Germany. How come there are no strikes in the socialist countries? And they do not fight the system, either."

But this follows naturally from the fundamentally changed position of the working class.

Or do they think that the working class is less sensible than the bourgeoisie or the big landowners and would organize a strike and

fight against its own system? This is not a question of freedom; it flows from judging the class position and from class-consciousness.

What about the demands of the working people and protection of their interests? It is heartening to note that the documents of the Congress, the reports and the discussion reflected the point of view that first we have to produce what we want to distribute. In the present stage of the class struggle, production is the major front besides safeguarding the security of the socialist world. For if production and labour productivity do not increase, then it is not possible to distribute more.

From this it follows that it is a good thing if the trade unions mobilize the entire working class, all the working people to implement the Five-Year Plan, to meet the targets. I must say we face enormous tasks in economic construction. We should not forget that we are still in a period when agriculture must be given considerable support to replace the former back-breaking toil on plots by a flourishing socialist large-scale farming.

Industry, transport, and other spheres must be developed. We have to strain ourselves to meet the 1963 targets the realization of which was commenced under extremely difficult and complicated circumstances.

I also wish to say that when spring finally came a month ago—by the way, this first month was not bad as to weather—agriculture lagged behind deplorably, but the peasants buckled down to work. I had the opportunity to look around in our country recently; work is going fine, I saw fallow land only at one place. The last week's picture was promising: they are not sparing themselves and are making every effort.

The tasks in industry are not smaller either. We did not fulfil the plan targets for the first quarter of 1963. January and February were not successful; in March progress was practically leap-like, but even so we were unable to make up for the lag of January and February. The essential point is that though industrial production in the first quarter of the year increased by 5.3 per cent compared to the same period of 1962, we did not reach the level called for by the plan. We must realize that we failed to fulfil our plan for the first quarter, with one exception: the paying of wages.

Of course, there is no question of cheating: transport did not move smoothly; the cold set in and kept people from working; yet wages had to be paid. I should like to imprint on your memory the point that when you go back from this Congress you should list the fight to implement this year's plan among your main tasks. We have to make up the lag, and in most respects it can be done.

I shall now deal with the question of the living standard. I read in one of the documents of this Congress that our task is continually to raise and promote the living standard. This is an erroneous thesis. It is not possible to raise the living standard continually. Every man with common sense knows that. It is possible to raise it systematically and socialist construction must be accompanied by the systematic rise in the working peoples' living standard. This is the correct expression.

Everybody understands that a rise in the living standard can be decided upon only if we have produced and stabilized the necessary funds for it. Then again we must produce, and after that it is again possible to raise somewhat the living standard. This is called a systematic rise in the standard of living. To raise the living standard continually, hour by hour, day after day, week after week, is simply absurd.

In his report Comrade Brutyó also mentioned that when judging of the living standard it is extremely important to uphold, strengthen and to appreciate the existing standard. Without going into details I must say in our country the living standard of the working people is not bad in general.

Recently I met a French comrade. I thought she was on the verge of starvation, but no! She merely watches her figure as is the fashion in France. I told her, look at the Hungarian women. She answered: "God forbid I should be like them," or as we say, so "fleshy-slender." This is the style in the people's democracy!

But seriously speaking, we really had difficult conditions this winter. There was a long cold spell, transport was snarled, things piled up, and still everybody knows there was no real trouble in the food supply. Quite a few people—mainly the older workers and good communists frequently think of this—thought again this winter that perhaps we were living a little too well.

There is no need to start a philosophical discussion about this fact, for if something is already achieved, we should not retreat from it. But it is worth while to point out that we must work in proportion to this living standard. We are up to the world standard more or less when it comes to average weight and average calorie consumption per day. If we reach it also in regard to productivity, everything will be all right.

Many concrete demands have been voiced here. The speakers touched upon the wage problems of teachers, of physicians not in direct contact with patients, of hospital attendants and of other categories of working people. These are real problems which do exist. Permit me to remind you that measures decided upon by the Party Congress which became effective on January 1, 1963—the raising of low pensions, the extension of social insurance and free hospital care and others—represent a yearly outlay of 584,000,000 forints.

Other measures, too, were decided upon by the Congress. For instance, it was decided that family allowances for families with two children must be improved, and it has been stated that there are various categories of working people whose pay is lagging behind and who have received no wage-rise since 1957. But we also resolved to decide on further steps only after we know about fulfilment of the plan for the first six months of the year. We cannot deviate from the practice followed during the last few years. We cannot endanger the stability and security of the national economy even if the demands in question are justified and worthy of consideration. In the present situation, before we know the outcome of plan fulfilment for the first six months we cannot do anything in this respect.

Of course, it was not a mistake to raise these demands at this Congress. It was done correctly. They should be kept in mind: the trade unions especially should concern themselves with them, but at the moment I cannot take responsibility for saying something else.

Other correct principles have been voiced, too, at this Congress. In his report Comrade Brutyó said that it is only proper if a man who works more, and gives more to the community, also gets a bigger share of the material wealth.

Here I would like to raise a question of a moral nature. These problems do not start with stealing or drunkenness. It is only natural

to require that nobody should steal or get drunk. But we have higher moral requirements; they dictate: life and death for the cause of the working class. If necessary we shall work and, if needed, fight for our community, our class, our people. This is the first command of our morality. The second is that everyone must carry out the obligations he assumes; that he shall stand his ground on the job in line with the requirements of communist morality.

There are very few good-for-nothings among our working people. We never forget this; there are few of them but there are some. That is why there are workers who work and workers who do not work. This is not because the latter are unemployed. There would be work, but they do not work. And then there are working employees and non-working employees. The latter are employed, too, but they do not work. And the same thing applies to other fields, too.

If we could manage to reach the point that people who do not work should not receive what is not due to them in any case, maybe we could offer something quicker, for instance, to the teachers.

Let me give an example. A few weeks ago somebody went to Canada on some business, and there he met some compatriots who had left without passports at the time. These Canadians complained about living conditions, about their situation, and about life in general. Their compatriot from Hungary told them: "I don't understand you. You ran away then because you were discontented with a lot of things. Now you are here, and all you do is complain. Actually, where or how would you like to live?" One of them remarked: "If possible we would like to work at home, and to get our pay in Canada." Now, why? I think because there one must work much more than here at home, and there is no free health service, and a lot of other things the working people have in Hungary; but the nominal wages are somewhat higher.

The slipshod worker mentioned earlier must be told that this cannot go on. Even under Horthy, when one worked for the capitalist, it was considered a question of honour to do a decent job. Meanwhile, though, we fought the capitalist, but to a class-conscious worker his work was a question of honour, and it is especially now when the general well-being of people depends on it.

Comrades,

I ask you to do your utmost to convince workers to take their jobs very seriously. Several labour questions were mentioned here, and I understand that some speakers intended to stress that people must work more now, in certain spheres, but somehow they forgot to speak of it. I will make up in part for this omission.

Today on the building sites workers are given every other Saturday off because of the large number of workers from the countryside. But even on the Saturdays spent in work they put in only three hours, making up the time on other weekdays to a total of 48 hours. It is necessary that this second Saturday should become a real workday, and this not only goes for building workers, but for others in a similar situation. By workday we mean working a full eight hours. For what can be done in a three-hour working day? By the time I dust off my cap neatly, take out the tools, look around, light a cigarette, ask what's news, and how about the work for tomorrow, and get all set, about one-and-a-half hours go by; and if I want to call it a day as usual, then it's time to pack up because in our country we get ready to leave not at quitting time, but long before, so as to finish by the time the whistle blows.

Look what the miners did this winter. We appealed to them, and they regarded it as a question of honour to help. Now the building workers are in a somewhat similar situation, and to some extent the transport workers, too. There are similar problems in nearly every branch of industry. Now we say: "Comrades, take a look around and see, by putting your shoulder to the wheel, how we could catch up within three months, for our future progress depends on the fulfilment of the plan." In an exceptional situation it is a question of honour to stand one's ground. We are certain that if we speak to the workers they will react in the same way as did the miners last winter, saying, let's go, and catch up, for this is the main condition of further progress.

Money is stable in our country; there are more than 10,000 million forints in the savings banks. We have adequate reserves and enough goods on the market. If we upset this balance, if we print a few more thousand million forints of bills without real reserves, we would upset the entire economy, undermining the life and living standard of the very people we want to help. This cannot be done. Thus we

keep to the old standpoint: if the possibility is given we shall not delay raising the living standard. But if the possibility does not exist we shall not vote for it. This is a law for us; our conscience and our honour compel us to act this way.

I should like to say a few words on internal affairs. I have pointed out already that ours is not a liberal policy; it is neither dogmatic nor revisionist, but it is a Marxist-Leninist policy. Our development and in part the results of our policy do raise, from time to time, questions which must be solved from the viewpoint of class struggle.

Our Central Committee and, in the respective concrete questions, the government of the National Assembly do not pass measures that would be harmful to the cause of socialism. They always search for, pass, and put into effect measures that, up to their conviction, would serve this cause and increase its strength.

After these preliminary remarks I wish to recall a few matters which led to some discussion. You remember some: a non-party man can hold public posts. And then recently the decision that when judging whether to admit a youth to the universities and colleges, the occupation of the parents in 1938 should not be considered. There were several measures of this kind taken with the aim of augmenting the forces of socialism. And we are convinced that they definitely are working in this direction.

Another measure was the recent amnesty. In general the people understood its aim and function. But part of them did not understand it or they misunderstood it. Some honest comrades were concerned about our objectives in the class struggle. There were not too many, but there were some. These comrades must also understand what it is all about. The amnesty adds to the strength of our system. The Hungarian People's Republic cannot be harmed in the future, either. No plots can be organized against it, because we still have the same organs as before the amnesty, also the cells are there and there is room enough, and anybody who so wishes, who is trying to get there, will succeed in arriving there. In this respect nothing has changed. But the moral position of our society has multiplied its strength against those who act against the People's Republic or its laws. We believe in our principles, our ideals, our conviction, and we are certain that a large part of those pardoned will not come in conflict with the state. But

if someone does relapse, everybody will say: he committed an offence against the system, he was jailed, he did his time, he was released, now he is once more against the system, and he has again been locked up. It is very important that public opinion should not pity persons who attack the People's Republic, but should side with the state of the People's Republic when it takes steps against persons who violate the law.

Some misunderstood the amnesty from the Right. Well, the Hungarian People's Republic is a socialist state, our people are building a socialist society, and the further development of socialist democracy, the humanism of our legal system, is a matter of law, but there is no question of capitalist restoration and there never will be.

Our system, our society, marches along in this direction: toward the building of socialism, toward socialist democracy.

I should also like to mention that, though to an ever smaller extent, sometimes a kind of uncertainty comes up in people who are anxious about this system, fearing that perhaps their peace and quiet is linked to a certain person. Well, everybody knows by now that this political line is not the policy of one man or of eight men, not even of eighty. Our policy is the policy of millions in Hungary. And nobody can change it, neither from within the country nor outside it.

This is a Marxist–Leninist, a communist policy. It is theoretically correct, it has stood the test of practice; and it is our duty to strengthen this policy now with the might of deeds, to realize it in actual life to a still greater extent.

Our trade unions can look back upon glorious historical past. All respect is due to those men who long ago founded the Hungarian trade unions and started them on their way.

We who are present here today have the duty to treasure the good traditions of our predecessors and to strengthen them so that the Hungarian trade union movement shall become still stronger. It is easier for us than it was for our predecessors, for we see fourteen countries where socialism either exists or they are laying the foundations for it, and the world-wide victory of socialism and peace is within sight.

We have, then, a good policy, a revolutionary party steeled in struggle to lead us; we have a battle-hardened, class-conscious and

internationalist working class, an honest, hard-working and conscious peasantry that has taken the road to socialism; we have an intelligentsia which identifies itself with our aims and is working for them. We must work, comrades, that's the essential thing! We say: our society is a society of labour. And this is really so. Everybody must work honestly and decently, and if those 2,800,000 people whom we consider, to use the old term, organized workers, will stand their ground also on the front of labour as organized workers, construction will not be difficult.

Comrades,

The Central Committee of the party is firmly convinced that we are marching toward new socialist victories. In this struggle the party relies safely and surely on the trade unions, for it knows that the unions want to, and can, help building socialism.

It is spring, the weather is fine, one can get down to work and the work will yield results. The trade unions, our working class, our working people should count on the party, on its Central Committee, on the government, trusting them as they did during the last years. Each man and woman will stand their ground in their own posts, and then the two forces, the leadership and the masses, will achieve together our great goal: the full-scale building of socialist Hungary. My best wishes to you, comrades!

SPEECH AT A MASS MEETING HELD ON THE OCCASION OF U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL U THANT'S VISIT AT CSEPEL

July 2, 1963

Comrades,

The government of the Hungarian People's Republic invited the highly esteemed Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization, Mr. U Thant, to visit Hungary. The Secretary-General accepted our invitation.

The gates of our country are thrown open today to friends, to neutral men of good will, and even to our ill-disposed critics. Although we are by no means satisfied with our achievements, we are convinced that what can be seen in our country is bound to give strength and encouragement to our friends, while the well-meaning inquirers get somewhat closer to understanding our people, and even an ill-disposed critic cannot spread lies about conditions here with the same conviction as before his visit.

We consider the Secretary-General as a representative of the positive neutrality standpoint. We recognize him as a man who has friendly feelings towards all peoples, including our people, and the Hungarian People's Republic.

One must say that the Secretary-General occupies a highly complicated position where he is expected to do the most different things, and it is very difficult for him to offer settlements which are satisfactory to all parties. Mr. U Thant has been serving during his term of office the cause of progress and peace, and has also taken a correct standpoint towards our country. We trust that Mr. U Thant will better understand our position on the basis of his experiences here and perhaps will also get somewhat closer to our people in sentiment.

I had the good fortune to have a very pleasant talk with the Secretary-General yesterday. I informed him in detail about our history in order to make him better acquainted with our present situation, I informed him about important questions to better acquaint him with our present-day life. The eighteen years since Liberation were a period of tremendous creative work. Unfortunately, this eighteen years of advance was not unbroken. There was a stage, which we characterize as that of the personality cult, when many harmful and negative features interfered with our socialist development. As a result of these political, economic and other mistakes, bitterness and dissatisfaction justly accumulated as far as part of our public opinion was concerned. This was utilized by the enemies of our system and by international imperialism, and through misrepresentation they succeeded in turning justly embittered and dissatisfied people against us, and in unleashing a counter-revolutionary insurrection. But the Hungarian people overcame this, too. We found our way back to the straight and bright path of socialist development, and now our people are advancing along this path with self-confidence, registering new achievements, from year to year.

Our industry has developed at a rapid pace since Liberation, and output is three-and-a-half times as high as in 1938. Many new factories were built, and we are exporting a number of products we could not even think of manufacturing in our country in the old days.

In Hungarian agriculture we carried out the highly complicated task of socialist reorganization and, braving the inclemencies of weather, we have also raised agricultural production to a higher level. We can also record similar outstanding achievements in public education, culture and many other spheres.

In order to implement lofty, socialist ideas and to build a socialist country we have to consolidate working class power, the most important task at the present stage of historical development. Because as long as we have this, we can carry on our work, draft and implement our plans, and can do everything. But if something goes wrong with the power of the working class, we cannot carry into effect our socialist ideas.

I have to make a special reference to what is of extreme importance to our constitutional and legal system: we restored socialist rule of

law in our country. This lawful order, the Constitution and laws of the Hungarian People's Republic cannot be violated by any person, neither by the enemies of the system nor by those who bear ill will towards it, nor by those who act on behalf of our power. In this sense we have restored socialist rule of law one hundred per cent on both counts.

Now the Secretary-General of the U.N. is in our midst. He must have heard much about those who were jailed and those who were not, and the reasons why some people were not released. It is our sacred duty to protect our People's Republic; we are fighting for this with iron and fire, and if necessary, we also punish. But there has been no single individual during this entire period who was imprisoned for something he did not do. We struck hard when it was necessary, but we reached a point when an amnesty could be granted. The application of the amnesty stems from the very strength of our system. No one is actually imprisoned in Hungary today because of political offences.

When meting out punishment we were also guided by humanitarian considerations. When we were compelled to take drastic measures we felt that it is much better to keep a tight hold on a few individuals than that they should victimize many ordinary, misguided people—either because of their own stupidity or because of deception; why should these people suffer for something which they themselves did not start.

I also told the Secretary-General about the number of people freed through the amnesty. We were able to inform him, but I also told him why we did not publicize this in the press. This was because we are under no obligation to submit an account to anybody, to the government of any country or any international organization, because the Hungarian People's Republic is a sovereign country. That is all there is to it. We do not wish to mislead the Secretary-General, our beloved guest.

The fact of the matter is that people's power is firm in our country and our people are working in unity, for the achievement of socialist objectives. Are we really satisfied or dissatisfied? It depends on from what angle we are looking at things. If we consider the state of affairs in April, 1945, when our country was liberated, I can say that we are happy with our achievements.

Or if we go back to the morning of November 4, 1956, then I can

again state that we are happy at what we have achieved through hard struggle. But if we start out from what we want to achieve in industry, agriculture, public education, culture and living standards, then we must be very dissatisfied.

In so far as future perspectives are concerned, we were able to point out with a great deal of satisfaction and approval at the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the leading force in Hungarian society, that we have laid the foundation of socialism in our country; we also declared that our people's advance has reached a stage when the completion of a socialist society is the objective. This is our common responsibility, and this is what we are working for.

Our other aim, our international objective, is the safeguarding of peace. Hungary on its own is not a big enough power to be able to influence decisively the destiny of the world and the nations. But Hungary is advancing resolutely, in alliance with our closest and best helper and friend, the Soviet Union, and we are in friendship with the great community of socialist countries. Thus we have ourselves become a part of the mighty international force which is now playing a decisive role in influencing the destinies of mankind. This mighty force is in alliance with all progressive forces, with the peoples liberated from the colonial yoke, and with all those who are still fighting for liberation from colonial oppression; we are allies of all decent peoples the world over who agree with us on one question, the safeguarding of peace. We are for the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. Yes, with all countries, and I must state—and this is no secret—that we wish to maintain normal relations with the government of the United States, too. Frankly speaking, we do not ask anything from the United States. We are going to build our socialist society without their assistance, just as we have been doing so far, in the face of their opposition and interference. We support the U.N. resolution for the calling of an international conference on world trade, because we believe that this is beneficial to the cause of peace and to all the countries of the world. We are for the widening and increasing of trade relations and goods exchange between countries.

The small Hungarian People's Republic, disparaged at first by the imperialists, is gaining in strength and is advancing. Even those who have so far failed to realize the benefits of mutual trade may perhaps

understand them by now, because this will help us speed our development on the one hand, and they can make their profit out of it on the other. We view the work of the United Nations Organization with a certain amount of expectation and hope. Our expectation is that the United Nations Organization will indeed serve the interest of mankind, and not become an organization in the service of one or another group of powers. We hope that it will be so, and the United Nations Organization will be able to play a positive role for the benefit of mankind. The people and government of the Hungarian People's Republic wish to help to this end.

I am convinced the Secretary-General's visit to Hungary will contribute to the lessening of cold war problems in international affairs, and to the increase of all those things which bind people together in advancing the fundamental and common interest of peace.

Our policy and methods do not change. The Eighth Party Congress laid down the line for us. Experience has shown that we are moving ahead on the right path, and this is the path we are going to follow.

I would like to speak on one more question. We agreed previously with the Secretary-General on the date of his visit, because he is a very busy man and must travel a lot. In the meantime it so happened that we decided to go to Berlin to extend, in a fitting manner, our best wishes on his 70th birthday to Comrade Ulbricht, who has a record of over fifty years of struggle in the German communist movement. We simultaneously expressed our solidarity with the German Democratic Republic, which at last represents an anti-imperialist, anti-militarist, workers' and peasants' state on German soil, and which is also building socialism. I had to come back quickly from Berlin to Budapest lest our honoured guest should get here ahead of me, because it is bad manners for the host to arrive after the guest.

You all know that Comrades Khrushchov, Gomulka, Novotny, Zhivkov, Fajon and other representatives of the international working-class movement were also in Berlin. We had some talks there, of course. We talked about our common problems and came to the conclusion that the cause of socialism and peace is going well. The major necessity is to continue on the lines which have proved to be correct in the international field, to keep on carrying out a policy of peaceful coexistence and to maintain our unity, and then our cause will triumph.

I thank you, comrades, for your attention. Although I do not like to make prophecies, yet I believe that, just as we have been advancing during the last few years in all spheres and in all respects, we will continue to do likewise in the coming years. In order to achieve this, our forces must be united. The government must do its job properly, and the same applies to you. We cannot get anywhere separately, we can only advance by our united efforts. I wish all the workers of the plant good health, good work and plenty of success.

SPEECH AT A MASS MEETING HELD IN THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW, ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF THE HUNGARIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

July 19, 1963

Dear Comrade Khrushchov, Comrades, Dear Soviet Friends,

Our delegation came to the Soviet Union at the honoured invitation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government. The purpose of our visit is to exchange views on questions of mutual interest, and to learn about the most recent achievements of the great Soviet people who are building communism at first hand. Our major objective is to strengthen further our internationalist ties through this visit, to deepen further and consolidate our unbreakable Hungarian–Soviet friendship.

Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov, true friend of our people, in his address today highly evaluated the historic struggle of our party and the Hungarian people for the victory of the socialist revolution. We have met with the same appreciation of the Hungarian People's Republic, with genuine and deep fraternal feelings at every stop on our journey, at all our meetings with workers, kolkhoz peasants, local party and state executives and with ordinary working people, here in Moscow, in Tashkent, Irkutsk, Bratsk and Krasnoyarsk.

On behalf of the delegation and on my own part, I wish to express our heartfelt and sincere thanks to all Soviet people for this. We wish to present to you, and through you to the entire Soviet people, the fervent fraternal greetings and good wishes of the Hungarian people engaged in building socialism.

Our party and people are proud of the friendship of our Soviet comrades, of the Soviet people. The great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin, carried the banner of the Great

October Socialist Revolution to victory and established the first worker-peasant state of the world. The establishment of the Soviet Union opened a new chapter in the history of mankind, and she continues to be the best friend and mainstay of all peoples fighting for freedom and social progress. This is why every Hungarian communist considers the constant strengthening of the Hungarian–Soviet friendship an international duty, which is in the best interests of the Hungarian people building socialism, and true patriotism.

Comrades and Friends,

During our journey we crossed the endless territories of the great Soviet land. We visited factories, hydro-electric power stations, kolkhozes and scientific research institutes. We noted how the Seven-Year Plan is being fulfilled ahead of schedule. We could see with our own eyes the embodiment of the programme of communist construction adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress, and the turning of victorious ideas, through heroic work, into living reality.

We have seen the portents of the peaceful victory over capitalism. Right now the Soviet Union is close on the heels of the most advanced capitalist countries, in fact, she has outstripped them in a number of spheres which are of decisive importance in our epoch. She has proved her superiority in automation, nuclear physics, in rocket technique, and, last but not least, she maintains and constantly increases her lead in space travel. Permit me again to express my best wishes to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Soviet government, scientists and engineers for their most recent splendid achievement; I whole-heartedly congratulate Valeri Bykovsky, the fifth astronaut, and Valentina Tereshkova who, although she is the sixth, is still the first, the first woman astronaut in the world.

We have once again seen and witnessed the unshakable unity of the Soviet working people in support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee, headed by Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov. The party and the people are working, in full unity, in building communism, they are standing their ground both as regards work and peace.

We have again been convinced of how deeply the Soviet people realize the tremendous responsibility placed on them by history: they

have to construct, for the first time in the world, a communist society, and to overcome in competition the capitalist countries. You can be proud, Comrades, that you are faced with this historic mission.

It has been a grand experience for us to meet the Soviet man, reared by the party, this builder of communism and bearer of the new morality, who is ready to make all sacrifices for his people and mankind, and who is fully imbued with proletarian internationalism. During our visit *Pravda* printed the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We noted everywhere that the Soviet people—reared by the party for decades in the spirit of internationalism and ready for all sacrifices for the revolution, socialism and peace—are in whole-hearted agreement with the Central Committee, and condemn the unfounded and unprincipled, dogmatic attacks against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and workers' parties of the world.

Comrades,

Our party and people adhere unflinchingly to proletarian internationalism and are loyal to the fraternal community of the socialist countries. This is in line with the interests of our own people and the interests of the entire international labour movement, and furthers the cause of peace and progress. We are conscious of the fact that our socialist achievements are irreversible, because we are safeguarding the stability of people's power and are loyal to the cause of proletarian internationalism. We are bound with unbreakable ties to the first socialist state of the world, the Soviet Union, which is building communism, and to its leading force, the torch-bearer of creative Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are bound together by Marxism-Leninism, our common ideas, and by our common historic goal.

Our friendship was born in revolutionary struggle, our unity is firm as a rock. Our talks with the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government proved again our full agreement on all problems of the building of communism and socialism, and on the evaluation of the international labour movement and the international situation. The decades which have elapsed since the Great October Socialist Revolution have proved, time and again, that

the attitude taken to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a reliable yardstick of proletarian internationalism. The history of forty-five years proves that one cannot be an internationalist, a communist, a supporter of peoples' freedom, and at the same time anti-Soviet. The fraternal friendship to the Soviet Union has a special significance for the Hungarian people. Over and above what the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union mean to the working class of the entire world, to all oppressed and exploited and to all true revolutionaries, the Soviet Union has an added meaning for us. It is the country whose sons, reared in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and communism, shed their blood and sacrificed their lives while liberating us from the fascist reign of terror, and gave us national independence and the possibility of social emancipation. The sons of the Soviet Union gave assistance to our people in the struggle against the counter-revolution. The Soviet Union has always been on our side, through thick and thin, assisting us with her experiences and example; she has been giving us selfless support in our socialist construction. The great Soviet Union, in her relations with us, has also given an example of the fact that instead of starting out from her own interests she is considering common interests, the cause of the two peoples and that of general social progress.

The economic cooperation of the two countries is constantly expanding and becoming closer. About 40 per cent of our raw material imports, including the great majority of iron ore, pig-iron, foundry coke, crude oil, synthetic rubber and cotton, come from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is supplying us with alloys, rolled steel, chemicals, artificial fertilizers and other products in considerable quantities. The Hungarian People's Republic is exporting, among other things, engineering products and telecommunication goods to the Soviet Union. The recently constructed "Friendship" oil pipeline, the "Peace" power line and the recently concluded Soviet–Hungarian aluminium agreement are all greatly to our advantage. The Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union are in whole-hearted agreement on the importance of many-sided economic cooperation between socialist countries. We are endeavouring to make use of our resources, within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in accordance with our common interests, jointly and in a planned

manner, and to establish a rational division of labour which will speed up our progress.

The ties between our two countries are constantly expanding in all spheres. Guest performances by Hungarian artists are taking place ever more frequently and on a larger scale in the Soviet Union, while the Hungarian public is in a position to welcome, ever more often, on the stage and in the concert hall outstanding representatives of Soviet culture. The ties between our scientists, experts, economic and cultural executives are constantly expanding. Tourist traffic between the two countries is on the increase. Working people from the factories, cooperative farms and offices, thousands of ordinary men and women are visiting the Soviet Union from Hungary, and are coming from the Soviet Union to our country. Our two peoples are constantly drawing closer to each other. More important than this, however, is the complete agreement on principles, the harmony between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and between the Central Committees of the two parties. We consider that the activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade Khrushchov, which are aimed at the creative development of Marxism–Leninism, are a matter of decisive importance for the entire international labour movement. We know from our own experience where sectarianism and dogmatism divorced from life lead to, and what is the result when revisionism gains ground. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has given our party inestimable assistance in freeing itself from sectarianism, dogmatism and revisionism, and in finding its way back to the straight Marxist–Leninist path.

Our own advance is further testimony of the correctness of the teachings of the Twentieth Congress. So is the development of the entire international revolutionary labour movement. This is why we are in whole-hearted agreement with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the question of the international revolutionary labour movement, of socialist construction and the international situation, because its position is completely in line with the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960.

We whole-heartedly agree, likewise, with the July 14 Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This letter outlines the only Marxist position possible on the major problems of our epoch and irrefutably demonstrates that the leading Chinese comrades are assuming an erroneous and dangerous stand on the majority of these questions.

Comrades,

The world is in a period of transition from capitalism to communism. This is the epoch of the decay of imperialism and capitalism, the victory of the proletarian revolution, the triumph of the national liberation struggles and the disintegration of the colonial system. Socialism does not need a war to win. A world war is not in the interest of the peoples living under socialism, nor of other peoples. We must use all our might to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war on the world. War has always meant the death of millions, the mass destruction of values created by man and the suffering of peoples; this is especially so now, in the age of nuclear weapons. We must fight for the world-wide victory of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems. This policy does not mean peaceful coexistence of capitalists and workers, of the colonialists and the subjugated peoples, of the oppressors and the oppressed, nor does it mean acquiescence in oppression. On the contrary, it creates the most favourable conditions for systematic, constructive work in the socialist countries, for a speedier unfolding of socialism's superiority, and thus its peaceful victory; it helps the working class of the capitalist countries in their struggle against the monopolies, and the colonial peoples in their fight for national liberation.

The struggle for peace, democracy, socialism and national independence can be neither separated nor counterposed. The peoples' front is strong, if all these struggles merge into a single huge stream.

The slogan of exporting revolution violates in principle the Marxist standpoint, so its practice must also be repudiated. The peoples have to decide themselves on the social system they want to live under. Revolutions do not depend on slogans which disregard the situation, the place and the time, but on the maturing of the necessary conditions. A slogan put forward at the wrong time separates the party from the masses, instead of linking it with them. The past experience of almost two decades has also proved that the rise of the world so-

cialist system and the change in the balance of forces has had a disintegrating effect upon the colonial system because the colonial powers could not withstand the pressure of the subjugated peoples, while the oppressed peoples could rely on the socialist world.

Thanks tc our struggle for peace hundreds of millions throughout the world can realize that socialism and peace are indivisible, that the socialist countries and the communists are the most consistent and effective fighters for peace, that most fervent desire of mankind. Our struggle for peace has trained millions of new communists and gained the sympathy of hundreds of millions for the socialist countries and the communists. We cannot permit the imperialists to fool the peoples with their false phrases about peace.

Our struggle is now waged to make socialism a concept not only identical with peace, but also with prosperity. To achieve this, all socialist countries must develop their economies, but economic cooperation between socialist countries is also indispensable.

We know from our own experience the meaning of economic cooperation based on internationalism. What would have happened if the Soviet Union had left us, after Liberation, to our own resources, and if the socialist countries had done the same thing after the 1956 counter-revolution?

Economic cooperation is not a matter of one or two years, or even a couple of decades. Socialism is the common future of mankind. We shall carry on our work in the economic field in such a way as to best serve the present and the future of the peoples.

The guarantee of our success lies in the united efforts of the countries belonging to the world socialist system, and of the communist and workers' parties, for social progress, national independence and the victory of the cause of peace against imperialism.

Marxism-Leninism makes no distinction between whites and blacks, Europeans and Africans and Latin Americans—only between classes, the oppressors and the oppressed. Marxism-Leninism teaches the identity of interests of all the oppressed and exploited the world over in the struggle for national and social emancipation. This is why they must close their ranks.

The Moscow Declarations of the communist and workers' parties correctly expressed the position of the assembled party representatives

on the major problems of our epoch. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is of the opinion that the Declarations are correct, their content has been verified by life, therefore there is no need to amend them. The correctness of the Declarations has been borne out by the advance of the socialist countries, and by the strengthening of the communist parties all over the world, by the growth of the progressive forces and the successes of the national liberation movements.

The 1960 Moscow Declaration of the communist and workers' parties correctly stated that there are real possibilities for a new kind of solution to the most important questions of our epoch, in the interest of peace, democracy and socialism.

The world-wide upsurge of the struggle for social progress, national independence and peace is hampered by the attempts of the Chinese comrades to disrupt unity, endangering the recent achievements of the world labour movement and of the peoples fighting for independence. Only the firm unity of the communist and workers' parties can ensure the vanguard role played by these parties in the struggle for peace and in the class struggle in the capitalist countries; only thus can they become effective leaders of the national liberation movements. This unity can only be grounded on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism, void of any distortion.

This can be nothing other than a unity on principles, based on the directives adopted at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which are valid for the entire international labour movement, and on the Moscow Declarations. This is the opinion of every communist who is fully conscious of his responsibility for the destinies of his own people and of all mankind.

So far we have been doing everything in our power to safeguard the unity of the international labour movement, and will continue to do so. We are unwilling, however, to make any concession on principles whose correctness has been verified by practice, and represent the only correct Marxist position on the major questions which affect the fate of mankind. We whole-heartedly agree with the government of the Soviet Union in its evaluation of the present international situation and support the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

In our opinion the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is based upon the realities of the prevailing world political situation, on a scientific analysis of the situation and on the balance of forces. The struggle for general and complete disarmament, in our opinion, is of utmost importance, because it offers a realistic objective to the masses who demand peace. Any struggle in which peace is used only as a general slogan would be idle and meaningless, unless the concrete tasks necessary to avoid war and safeguarding peace are indicated. The achievement of general and complete disarmament is a concrete task of this nature. Nobody could explain the abandonment of the struggle for general and complete disarmament by the socialist countries, thus handing it over to those who do not want peace and disarmament, but are for war and rearmament. The recognition of the imperialist armaments drive and of the danger it entails can have a mobilizing effect and can advance the cause of disarmament. This can lead to the exposure and isolation of the forces of aggression.

We must fight for the banning of nuclear weapon tests. The failure to reach an understanding so far does not justify the abandonment of negotiations. What has just been said, and all the facts, for that matter, give evidence that the leading government circles of the United States can no longer sidestep the solution of this problem so easily. As well as fighting for disarmament and a ban on nuclear tests the Soviet Union is also waging a consistent struggle for the abolition of foreign military bases and for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the states of the Warsaw Treaty and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

We want to and will strengthen the Warsaw Treaty organization as long as it is needed, but are prepared to discuss at any time all rational proposals which promise the lessening of tension. I must state that the readiness of the Soviet Union for negotiations and its flexible diplomacy have greatly contributed to the clarification of the problems of peace and disarmament the world over, and the peoples are becoming ever more conscious of why and against whom they must fight if they want peace.

We fully support the proposals of the Soviet Union for the settlement of the German question, including the problem of West Berlin. The West must take cognizance of the existence of two Germanys of

differing social systems; unification must be left for the German people to solve; it cannot be forced upon Germany from the outside or from the top. The most important task is to curb German imperialism which has revived in Western Germany and is becoming ever more dangerous. The Hungarian people are deeply interested in this, both as a peace-loving people and as a people who have learned, through repeated and bitter experience, the meaning of agressive German imperialism in Europe.

We whole-heartedly support the Soviet Union's proposal for the complete and final abolition of the colonial system, presented to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the U.N. The spirit of this proposal has already permeated international politics. Only the most insane colonialists, the Portuguese government circles, the South African racialists and other fascists, dare to cppose it openly.

War is no more fatalistically inevitable. To ensure peace, however, there must be a close unity and growing strength in the socialist camp, and all peace-loving and progressive national forces of independence must establish a united front; mass struggle and diplomacy must be applied simultaneously. We realize and can see that the lion's share of the defence of world peace is borne by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has established and maintains the most modernly equipped and strongest army in the world; this is a major guarantee of peace. The Soviet people, shouldering great sacrifices, established and maintain this force of national defence, because they realize that it is indispensable in curbing the imperialists.

The struggle for peace relies upon this force; it is the protective shield of all peoples defending their peace and national independence. This is the force the imperialists must recognize and reckon with. I wish to take this opportunity to express the gratitude and appreciation of the Hungarian people for the mighty efforts of the Soviet people and the great burdens borne by them in safeguarding peace. The Hungarian People's Republic, a member of the Warsaw Treaty, is assuming its share in the joint responsibilities for safeguarding peace, and will continue to do so.

Comrades,

Permit me to dwell on the work we have been carrying on, and the results we have accomplished during the last few years in Hungary. When our delegation came here in the spring of 1957, our party, government and people were still engaged in a struggle to liquidate the remnants of the counter-revolutionary insurrection, to restore the legal order of the Hungarian People's Republic, and to ensure the socialist present and future of the Hungarian people. In that struggle the party and government relied on the Hungarian masses who remained faithful to socialism, and on the sympathy of the world progressive forces. We were confident because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the government and the people of the Soviet Union welcomed us with understanding and friendship, shared our problems and gave support and assistance to our struggle. We can tell you now, dear comrades, that our people have made good use of the support and assistance extended at that time by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist camp and by the international labour movement.

This assistance was not extended in vain. We reorganized our Marxist-Leninist party. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has been guiding, with steady hand, the Hungarian people who are building socialism. Our people's democratic state is strong, enjoying the confidence and support of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, of the entire working people. The work of socialist construction has gained a great momentum in our country. Significant achievements have been reached in the economic and cultural spheres. We have completed the socialist reorganization of agriculture, so that socialist relations of production have become predominant in the national economy. On the basis of this the Eighth Congress of our party, held in November, 1962, declared that we had completed laying the foundations of socialism and had entered into the period of building a fully socialist society.

Recently we successfully carried out the Three-Year Plan (1958–1960), and we are now in the third year of carrying through the Second Five-Year Plan. The output of our socialist industry rose 50 per cent between 1958 and 1962. Chemical industry production more than doubled, and that of the engineering industry increased by 74 per cent. In 1962, our industrial output was approximately five times as high

as in 1938. The total average agricultural output in 1958–1962, i.e. during the years of socialist reorganization, surpassed the 1950–1957 average by 20 per cent. Our cultural revolution has also advanced by leaps and bounds. We carried out an educational reform which is bringing school still closer to life and enables the pupils to familiarize themselves, while in school, with the fundamentals of productive labour. The completion of eight grades at a general school is compulsory for all children. We pledge that the time is not far off when passing the maturity examination in a secondary school will become general. The living standards of our people rose during recent years. The real income of wage and salary-earners and of cooperative peasants increased. With the socialist reorganization of agriculture and the provision of social insurance for the peasantry practically the entire population became insured, i.e. they are entitled to free medical and hospital care and to old-age pension.

Comrades,

With the laying of the foundations of socialism the class structure of our society has undergone a fundamental change. Our working class is employed by socialist industry. A major part of the former urban petty bourgeoisie belongs to small industrial cooperatives or has secured employment in the various sectors of the national economy. The former class divisions have been eliminated in the Hungarian village. There are no longer poor peasants, middle peasants and kulaks. Our intellectuals, engineers, teachers, doctors, research workers and scientists are employed by socialist industry, socialist agriculture and the various scientific, cultural and educational institutions of the socialist state.

As the foundations of socialism have been fully laid in Hungary there are no more exploiting and exploited classes, and our society is well advanced on the path to a united, socialist society of the working class, peasantry and the intelligentsia. In our country social life is guided by the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the party. The Patriotic People's Front reflects the alliance of the workers, peasants and all the other labouring classes. The socialist national unity of our people is being realized. There is a dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary, but our state is developing and has advanced on the road

of becoming ever more an all-people's state. There is but one yardstick in our country for everybody: loyalty to the people and to socialist construction, the extent to which a person devotes his knowledge and energy to the work of socialist construction—and not his social origin or former class position.

Comrades,

The Eighth Congress of our party decided that a Marxist–Leninist offensive must be developed in the ideological field. We have already scored considerable achievements in the spreading of Marxist–Leninist ideology. Now, having laid the foundations of socialism, the possibilities are more favourable than ever for making Marxism–Leninism dominant in the thinking of our people, in our science and culture with as little delay as possible.

This is possible, and also necessary, because there are still plenty of remnants of the erroneous views of the past, of petty-bourgeois thinking and morality, in the ideology and consciousness of some strata of the population; this acts, in the long run, as a brake on socialist construction. The ideological offensive is also necessary because international imperialism, aware of the growing successes of socialism, and considering a war against the socialist countries a risky proposition, is expending still more energy and finance on the ideological struggle, or to put it more correctly, on the poisoning of people's mind and on ideological mischief-making. The ideological offensive of Marxism–Leninism is also important in order to eliminate the concept of the peaceful coexistence of ideologies and to drive out bourgeois ideology from its last positions.

We cannot underestimate, in spite of our achievements, our problems and difficulties. The advance of our agriculture has been retarded by several years of drought and by this year's extremely long and hard winter. We face difficulties in our industry and foreign trade, too. Despite these we can state that the last five years or so have been characterized by successes, since we safeguarded people's power, laid down the foundations of socialism, carried out the Three-Year Plan, and are successfully implementing, by and large, the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Hungarian people are marching, with no feelings of shame and

with heads erect, shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples who are building socialism. This is the source of our communist and national pride, this is the fruit of our labour and struggle.

Comrades,

When speaking about the great successes of the Hungarian People's Republic and the significant achievements of our people during the last few years, we must express our thanks for the many-sided and enormous assistance given by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and people to the Hungarian people.

In attaining our results, a decisive role was played, among the internal factors, by the policies of our party and the close relations of mutual trust which have developed between the party and the working people during the last few years. The Hungarian working people realize that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its Central Committee are following a correct and consistent Marxist–Leninist policy which is ensuring the independence and peace of the country, the steady work of socialist construction, the development of the country, the gradual rise of living standards and cultural advance.

The correction of the earlier mistakes has played an important role in the working out of our policies. We have drawn the lessons from the grave distortions caused by sectarianism and dogmatism, and the damage done by revisionism.

The statements of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, valid for the entire international revolutionary movement, have given us a great deal of assistance in the above achievements. There have been and still are people who stupidly and deceitfully make the absurd assertion that the 1956 counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary was caused by the thoroughgoing exposure of the crimes of the personality cult at the Twentieth Congress. The fact, however, is that it was not the exposure of the personality cult, but the personality cult itself which undermined and destroyed the unity of the party and the party's mass ties with the people, and weakened the people's democratic system in Hungary.

Deceiving and misleading the masses, domestic and international

reaction made use of this situation for a general onslaught against the system. For this very reason it was the Twentieth Congress which provided the Hungarian working class and its revolutionary party with the ideological weapons which enabled them resolutely and fully to overcome both the personality cult and the counter-revolutionary uprising. Indeed, the Twentieth Congress made it possible for the communist and workers' parties to rid themselves of the shackles placed on Marxist thinking by the personality cult, sectarianism and dogmatism.

Thus it became possible for the socialist countries to overcome the mistakes which had curbed the creative impetus of the masses and socialist construction, had reduced the attraction of socialism, and in the long run had held back the momentum of the world revolutionary labour movement.

The ideological and political struggles of recent years proved in our country, too, that one cannot wage an effective struggle against revisionism from a sectarian and dogmatic standpoint, just as there can be no successful fight against sectarianism and dogmatism with a revisionist line.

A struggle on two fronts must be carried on, from a Marxist-Leninist position, against sectarianism and dogmatism, and against revisionism. This calls, however, for creative thinking, as was shown by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Twentieth Congress. He whose knowledge consists only of an ability to find quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin to support his own subjective views is not a Marxist; a Marxist learns how to make use of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. And a Marxist-Leninist party is able, following the methods of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to size up, analyse and solve the complex problems of our epoch.

Comrades,

The Hungarian People's Republic is advancing on the direct road of socialist development, and we are now furthering, even though only to a modest extent, our great and common cause. The international prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic has gone up as a result of her acts and achievements, and even those circles most hostile to us up till now have been compelled to change their attitude. Now they wish

to normalize their state relations with the Hungarian People's Republic. We welcome these signs of sober and realistic policies and will respond in kind to a sincere approach on their part.

Comrades, Dear Soviet Friends,

This is the position of the Hungarian communists and the Hungarian people on the essential problems of socialist construction, the international labour movement and the international situation. The Eighth Congress of our party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, laid down the programme for the coming years. We declare at home, we declare here, that our policy will not change. We stick to it, because it took us much struggle to find this path which has turned out to be the correct one. We shall not deviate from it, neither to the Right nor to the "Left."

Imperialist propaganda likes to explain things according to its own taste. When dealing with the present government of the Hungarian People's Republic and its policies, they often use the phrase that Khrushchov's followers are in power now in Hungary. According to our concepts, power in our country is not held by the followers of any individual, but by the Hungarian working class. Our policies are not determined by the whims of a circle of friends, but by the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the guidance of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the common principles and ideas adopted at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings of the communist and workers' parties, and by the experiences of the historic struggles waged by our party and people.

The leading party and state functionaries in Hungary respect Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov as a Russian bolshevik, firm in principle, who always fights in the forefront, and beyond question successfully; we respect him as a steeled communist. It is also beyond question that Comrade Khrushchov follows the ideas of the Twentieth Congress and the Joint Declarations, and we Hungarian communists are also adherents of the ideas of the Twentieth Congress and the Joint Declarations. Looking at it from this angle, we can be justly labelled, for that matter, Khrushchov's supporters. We wish to state that we are not offended by this label, on the contrary, we are proud of it, and shall continue to be so.

The fact of the matter is that the Hungarian communists paid a

high price, with their lives and blood, for the crimes of the personality cult, and for the revisionist treason. Our entire people and the building of a socialist society suffered because of the distortion of ideas and policies. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian working class has learned the costly lessons of history well and this is why they stand by the banner of Marxism–Leninism. The advocates of revisionist or dogmatic phrases cannot look forward to any vacillation in our ranks. These people have, incidentally, two common features notwithstanding their Right and "Left" labels: the one is petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionism, the other hostility to the Soviet Union.

Comrades and Friends,

Our delegation will return from its visit to the Soviet Union with great conviction and confidence. All that we have seen has given us renewed strength and filled us with joy and pride. We are grateful to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the government and people of the Soviet Union for making this wonderful visit, with all its unforgettable experiences, possible for us. We are grateful for the unrivalled hospitality, and wish to thank you again.

Our delegation has referred quite often recently to the friendship and brotherhood which binds us together. I can assure you that Soviet–Hungarian friendship is not a beautiful slogan used on holidays, but a constant vital force, our weapon and shield in the unceasing struggle for the victory of socialism, communism and peace, for our national prosperity. For us loyalty to Soviet-Hungarian friendship means loyalty to the ideas of Marxism–Leninism, loyalty to the banner of communism, to the just cause of the Hungarian people, loyalty to ourselves.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and its Leninist Central Committee, headed by Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov!

Long live the mighty Soviet Union, building communism, long live the unbreakable friendship of the Hungarian and Soviet peoples!

Long live and victory to communism and peace!

REPORT ON THE VISIT OF THE HUNGARIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO THE SOVIET UNION, DELIVERED AT A MASS MEETING IN THE LITTLE STADIUM, BUDAPEST

August 5, 1963

Dear Comrades,

When one is taken up with everyday tasks at home, there is little time left to see what is going on in the world outside. We have had plenty to do during the past two years. We were busy with the preparations for and the holding of our Party Congress, this most important event of our party life, and with those for the most significant constitutional act of our People's Republic: the parliamentary and local council elections.

We have to solve important tasks of domestic policy. We had to take up the reconsideration of past trials, the elimination of the last remnants of the personality cult, and problems of domestic policy which were connected with the final winding-up of the counter-revolutionary events of 1956. We dealt with great problems of economic and cultural construction. While doing this job we had our hands full—as is customary—with annoyances, efforts and rejoicings.

When we switch over from domestic affairs to international problems and summarize what we will report to our friends, we are in a position to see the outstanding achievements made by our industrious people, under the leadership of our party, in their work of building socialism and raising the prosperity of our People's Republic.

Comrades,

It so happened that during the last few weeks I took part in several delegations. I visited the Masurian Lakes in Poland and met our Polish friends and brothers, including Comrade Gomulka. I was in

Berlin and took part in the 70th birthday celebrations for Comrade Ulbricht. I was amongst brothers who have unfurled the banner of socialist revolution in perhaps the most delicate area of Europe, in the heart of our continent, in Germany. Then I also visited the great Soviet land, our loyal friends and allies, our Soviet brothers. This journey had a threefold purpose: a friendly visit from our party and government delegation, participation at the meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and at the meeting of the Political Consultative Body of the Warsaw Treaty which followed it, where we also discussed an important political matter, the position of our united armed forces.

Wherever I went with my comrades, wherever we participated in consultations, we were met with cordial hospitality, with great appreciation and respect, with truly frank and fraternal sentiments.

We realize—and this is the most important and most precious thing for us—that the fraternal affection with which we were welcomed was extended to our party, the revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian labouring people, to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and to our people building socialism, the Hungarian people.

Comrades,

Nowadays it is a pleasant job to travel in the socialist world as an envoy of the Hungarian communists and of the Hungarian people building socialism. Our party and people now enjoys greater prestige among the peoples of the socialist countries. This is because they realize that the assistance tendered by the fraternal peoples to the revolutionary struggle of our people has not been in vain. The material sacrifices, and at times the shedding of blood, made in the spirit of solidarity and of true brotherly sympathy with our people were done for a worthy people. Although we visited fraternal countries, we met representatives of capitalist countries as well. I can state that esteem for the Hungarian People's Republic has risen even among those who disagree with us; even the enemy has learned to respect the Hungarian People's Republic.

The fraternal peoples respect, appreciate and love us because our party and people are now guided by determined, consistent and clear-

cut policies; for the same reason our enemies also respect our People's Republic. This is so because they realize that our people, under the guidance of our party, have done a tremendous job, and have successfully fought the political struggles which history placed before us; because we have fully restored the lawful socialist order of the Hungarian People's Republic, because our people are advancing consistently, resolutely and successfully on the road of building socialism. The Hungarian People's Republic is honoured and respected because we have completed the job of laying the foundations of socialism, because everyone knows that we are advancing without deflection along the road to the building of a completely socialist society.

Let me tell you frankly, it is good to get home. When one returns to one's native soil after a long trip, one rejoices over things which, as a rule, pass unnoticed. The first thing is that even the children here speak Hungarian and it is a tremendous advantage to speak to one's own compatriots, without an interpreter. On an occasion like this one becomes ever more convinced of the advantage of talking over our common problems clearly and sensibly, in the Hungarian language. In this way our people can establish perfect harmony on all questions, and, rallying our forces better, we can advance irresistibly and with greater momentum on our historic path.

Comrades,

Today's meeting is actually the final phase in the programme of our party and government delegation. I wish to express, on behalf of all the delegation members, our heartfelt thanks to you, the working people of Budapest, our compatriots, for your brotherly welcome. We sincerely thank those taking part in this meeting for their friendly greetings.

Comrades,

I would like to speak, first of all, about the main subject of our meeting, the visit of our party and government delegation to the Soviet Union. First of all, I must mention the welcome extended to us by the fraternal Soviet people.

We carried out a very ambitious programme. We ran into all sorts of weather during our journey: cloudbursts, dry weather, heat and frost.

We went to Chop, Lvov, Kiev, Irkutsk, Bratsk, Krasnoyarsk, and twice to Moscow. There was something, however, which never changed. Everywhere, in rain and in shine, in freezing cold and hot weather, we were overwhelmed with a fervent, comradely, friendly and brotherly affection which was irresistible, whether we met ordinary working people or local or national leaders.

We met workers in the Moscow aircraft factory and the Tashkent textile mills. They welcomed us with comradely affection and brotherly interest, with thousand and one signs of solidarity and friendship. What we experienced was unforgettable and will remain with us till the end of our lives. We would like to share these experiences with you, but words are not adequate to describe them. Perhaps the journalists, writers, news photographers and cameramen will give us a hand. However, we have stored these feelings in our hearts, and feel much stronger than before we set out to visit our friends in the Soviet Union.

I cannot give you all the messages we were asked to deliver, because leading executives, factory workers, astronauts, and pioneers in the Uzbekistan kolkhoz all ask us to convey their greetings. We brought home the regards of our best known and closest Soviet friends, of Comrades Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Mikoyan and many other leading Soviet comrades, and of hundreds of thousands of Soviet working people, and we can say, the fraternal greetings of the entire Soviet people, to Hungarian communists, workers, peasants, intellectuals, to our entire Hungarian people engaged in building socialism.

We have seen how the Soviet people are working in the factories, the kolkhozes, the scientific institutes, on the construction of gigantic power stations and on the most varied jobs. The gigantic work of construction, the disciplined, conscious, self-sacrificing, scrupulous and conscientious work can be summarized in these words: we have seen the builders of communism, we have seen communist construction.

Let me add that we especially rejoiced over the sight of a huge communist army, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, rallied in a unity and firm as a rock around its Leninist Central Committee, headed by our beloved friend, Comrade Khrushchov. We have seen the party founded by Lenin which, fused into an indissoluble, mono-

lithic unity with the entire Soviet people, is marching irresistibly ahead on the charted, clear-cut Leninist path. Let me add that it made us, representatives of the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian people, feel overjoyed that the great Soviet people following the Leninist path are loyal friends of our party and people, a firm ally, brothers who are always with us, in fair weather and foul; they have been with us in the past and will continue to be in the future.

Comrades,

The talks which our party and government delegation had with the Soviet comrades again disclosed full harmony on all matters under discussion, the questions of socialist and communist construction, the questions of relations between our countries, parties and peoples, and the problems of the international communist movement and of foreign policy.

The Soviet comrades told us about their future plans. The immeasurable dimensions, the staggering figures of the plans they outlined convinced us of the enormous speed at which the Soviet Union is advancing. Those who have watched the historic path taken by the Soviet Union over forty-five years, and have noted the rate of their advance, will be even more amazed—whether they be friends or foes of the Soviet Union—at what is going to be achieved in the Soviet Union in the coming years.

We discussed many concrete problems. We talked over all the facets of relations between the two countries, the tasks common to our parties and governments, Hungarian-Soviet economic and cultural cooperation and the direct ties between the peoples of the two countries. And, let me emphasize, we agreed to deepen and broaden all our present relations still further, and will place them on a higher plane.

We decided that the competent bodies shall examine ways and means of increasing our exchange of goods and of concluding long-term agreements for fruitful cooperation in a number of fields. The comrades entrusted with this job have already got down to work and they report that the prospects are encouraging.

Our talks and agreements have brought excellent results. The discussions and agreements which resulted from the Hungarian party

and government delegation to the Soviet Union in 1957 and the Soviet delegation's visit to us in 1958 gave new momentum to our socialist construction; we are satisfied that the recent talks and agreements will again give a great impetus to the building of socialism in our country.

Comrades,

I believe that, if we wish to evaluate correctly the visit of the party and government delegation—which the enlarged meeting of our Central Committee and our government valued very highly—we can state that, questions of details aside which, of course, have their own special significance in economic, cultural and other relations, the major achievement of our delegation can be summarized as follows: our weapon and shield, our chief international support, Hungarian-Soviet friendship, has been further strengthened.

Our friendship has deep historical roots. Let me spend a few minutes on this question.

During our journey we covered areas, in Uzbekistan and Siberia, which had not previously been visited by a Hungarian party and government delegation of a similar level and composition. Both areas offer a clear reference, from a certain point of view, to the historic roots of the friendship and alliance of the Hungarian and Soviet peoples. We met people everywhere who at one time, during the period of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, fought side by side with us, then fought for our liberation during the Second World War, or gave us direct and personal support in 1956. But it was also a good feeling to find in Uzbekistan and Siberia that the Soviet people there cherish the memory—in the form of memorials and other mementoes—of Hungarian veterans who, when Soviet power was being won during the four years of civil war, responded to Lenin's appeal, joined the first red guards, the first detachments of the Red Army and the red partisans, and fought with honour, in the manner of an internationalist. They took a stand on the side of Soviet power, thus also fighting for the freedom and socialist future of our people.

It is a fine thing that our friendship has historic roots and past, but it is of no lesser importance that it rests on realistic and firm foundations today, and will do so in the future as well. Our inter-

nationalist understanding, the community of our objectives bind together today the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, our states and our peoples.

I must also state that our friendship with our fraternal Soviet party, with the Soviet government and the Soviet people is one which is beneficial to the peoples of both countries, to the peoples of the socialist world and to the international communist movement, and it is also to the good of every sober-minded and normal individual the world over who wants peace. We can truly say, therefore, of Soviet–Hungarian friendship that it is lifeblood and leaven to the broader internationalist solidarity which embraces a huge front destined to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, a part of the international communist movement, of the peoples fighting for their independence, and of the partisans of peace.

Our visit to the Soviet Union took place during a period of a whole series of important international events. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance met in session, negotiations for a partial atomic test ban were taking place in Moscow, and the Open Letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Soviet communists and the entire Soviet people was published during our visit. Obviously we took a stand on these topical questions, convinced that we were familiar with the line and programme of our Central Committee and government, knew the position, mood and opinion of our people and therefore felt sure that our standpoint would be endorsed. So we took a stand in connection with the July 14 Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and declared that we Hungarian communists were in whole-hearted agreement with the C.P.S.U. on the matters contained in that Open Letter.

Our stand gratified the Soviet people. Ordinary Soviet workers, intellectuals and peasants came up to us to shake our hands and say: "Thank you for your solidarity." Our answer was that we agree, we are in full solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and this is not some kind of courtesy towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but an expression of our own position, and the position of our party, and that—in our conviction— this is the only just and correct position for the international communist movement and represents the interests of our people.

I would like to dwell briefly on the discussion between the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Chinese Communist Party, which is a discussion between the entire international communist movement and the leading Chinese comrades.

We reject the position of the leading Chinese comrades. We reject it, first of all, from principled conviction, because in our opinion the stand recently made public by the leading Chinese comrades is not Marxist-Leninist, but dogmatic and sectarian. We condemn and reject it from practical considerations, because we proclaim, as did Lenin, that the socialist revolution has never needed revolutionary phrases, since a single, everyday practical deed which promotes the cause of the socialist revolution is always worth more than a hundred revolutionary phrases.

We condemn the factional methods of the Chinese leaders and their attempts to create a split within the various fraternal parties, wherever the opportunity arises. We deeply condemn this because such a procedure is alien to the methods of discussion between communist parties and cannot bring good results.

The discussion with the Chinese comrades did not start yesterday, but earlier it was not conducted out in the open. I must frankly state that we, supporters of unity, had our hands tied to some extent. We remained patient until the very end, because we did not want to deepen the dispute, we did not want the differences between leaders to affect the masses. What was the result? The Chinese comrades misinterpreted our course of action. They kept on spreading their opinions and stand by every method.

Our Central Committee acted correctly when it refrained from open polemics until the last possible moment. We will likewise act in all similar cases, because we feel ourselves duty-bound to safeguard unity; this is our starting point. It is not our way of doing things to start open polemics at once and to make every debated question a matter of prestige, because, in our opinion, this makes it more difficult to clarify and settle problems in a comradely manner. Therefore those people who were impatient because of lack of information should bear with us and understand at this stage the motives for our course of action.

The situation is now different. If the Chinese comrades wish to

carry on the debate, we are ready to go ahead, because we are convinced that should we present these questions candidly and clearly to our party membership and people, our party and people will support our Marxist-Leninist stand, and not dogmatic and sectarian views.

Let me add something which we have already taken up in the Central Committee. Now that our differences have unfortunately reached a stage when public polemics are necessary and unavoidable, we will defend and put forward our just and correct position everywhere.

Of course, we do not want to settle down to entertaining the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian people with the dogmatic phrases of some Chinese leaders from now on, twenty-four hours a day. In our opinion we should do whatever is required by a discussion of principles, but otherwise we should concentrate on our truly revolutionary tasks, the development of our socialist industry, the strengthening of our socialist industry, the strengthening of our cooperative farms and agriculture and the development of scientific research and our cultural policies; it is the solution of these tasks which will give the most revolutionary and most correct answer to all kinds of dogmatic phrases. This is the job our people wishes to tackle.

I would like to deal now with another question. Our party membership and working class have heard from our Central Committee and from our leading statesmen many fine things about our fraternal Chinese party and its historic struggles, and about the great Chinese people. I wish to tell you, Comrades, that we do not retract one iota from this. We are convinced that the Chinese Communist Party has waged a tremendous historic struggle and made great advances on the basis of a correct line. The Chinese are a wonderful people, they are our brothers, and the Chinese People's Republic belongs to the countries of the world socialist system.

Our respect for, and appreciation of, the membership of the fraternal Chinese party and of the Great Chinese people remains unchanged. It is our firm conviction that even if there are differences of opinion with the Chinese leaders, these are, in a historical sense, transitional phenomena which will pass, and we shall march, together with the fraternal Chinese people, to the gates of communism and to communist society.

The leading Chinese comrades must, of course, clear up one or two matters. Aside from our differences on principle, the Chinese leaders must also know that, although our fraternal Chinese party in size is a very big party, nevertheless it must be made clear where the Chinese party ends and where the party of another country's working class begins. The Chinese leaders shall not take over the Marxist-Leninist training of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party membership, because nothing good will come out of it. They should leave this to the body elected and responsible for this, which according to our Party Rules is the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Unfortunately we had a slight conflict on state matters, too, with the Chinese comrades. It is known that at the time we did not print the June 14 letter of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the reason being that it is up to our party's Central Committee to determine when and what to print of the documents of other parties. We believe that since the letter was not addressed to us, it was up to the addressee to determine, on the basis of the elementary rules of courtesy, when and how he wishes to carry on a debate with the sender.

The leading Chinese comrades, however, printed "in good time" the necessary number of copies in the Hungarian language, and began a high-pressure distribution, without consulting us. As is customary in such cases, the Chinese diplomat concerned was called in to our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was asked to desist.

Our Chinese comrade met this with the reply that this was interference in Chinese internal affairs. This is a very original interpretation of sovereignty and internal affairs. The Chinese comrades can lay down what should be distributed in their country, but what should be distributed in Hungary comes within the orbit of Hungarian sovereignty, and this should always be determined by the appropriate Hungarian bodies, because it is not a Chinese, but a Hungarian internal matter.

We will strive to maintain harmony with the Chinese comrades at all times, and our arguments serve but one objective, the cause of Marxism–Leninism and our unity. We are convinced that the unity of communists and communist parties can be established, strengthened

and developed solely on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. And this unity cannot be strengthened, but only weakened, if we try to establish it on the basis of sectarian and dogmatic views.

A few years ago our party and people waged a struggle against the counter-revolutionary insurrection of 1956. The main issue of the struggle was the restoration of the lawful order of our People's Republic, the restoration of our socialist state and a continued advance on the road of building socialism. We entered into a struggle, however, not only with revisionism and with those who unleashed the counter-revolutionary insurrection, but against the personality cult and all that it implies, against violations of the socialist rule of law, dogmatism, sectarianism and divorce from life and from the people. This is the internal logic and law of our fight. We engaged in a struggle against the practice of unlawful trials, of unfounded economic planning and, generally speaking, against everything that is a harmful remnant of the personality cult.

Our tasks remain unchanged; we shall work for the democratization of party life and of Hungarian public affairs and for the unceasing development and continued unfolding of socialist democracy. He who steps forward today as an advocate of the personality cult and of its methods need not count upon our support, because we, i.e. our party and people, have had their fill of the personality cult, and do not want it back. By fighting against the personality cult we also strike a blow for socialist construction, for the peace and well-being of our people.

So far as our struggle for world peace is concerned, some quarters are now questioning its correctness. It is clear, however, that once we had decided to build a socialist society, to make our people's life fuller and richer, to create much, we must add to the aims of our struggle the safeguarding of the peace of our people and of all peoples. How can we work for the complete construction of a socialist society, and ensure a better life for our people, if at the same time we fail to safeguard and strengthen the all-embracing cause of peace? He who believes in the vigorous and energetic building of socialism in Hungary must also be a partisan of peace, because the two are inseparable.

What is the significance of the principle that war can be avoided? It signifies a Marxist-Leninist position, based upon a scientific analysis of the present epoch. One of its principal theses is that, although

there has been no change in the character of imperialism, the position of imperialism and of the peoples has changed; hence world war is no more fatalistically inevitable in our epoch. Under such conditions it is the chief responsibility of every communist, of all revolutionary workers' parties, to fight to safeguard peace, and to implement the principle of peaceful coexistence.

We are partisans of peace and of peaceful coexistence, because we have confidence in the strength of our socialist system and in the creative work of the socialist countries; with these we can force the imperialists to coexist peacefully. We believe that, thanks to the strength of our system and the creative work of our people, we will gain the upper hand in economic competition as well, and will score a victory over the capitalist system.

It is our conviction that in our epoch confidence in the principle of peaceful coexistence must also mean for every communist a faith in his own communist convictions, because he who is a convinced communist must have faith in the strength, superiority and undoubted victory of our system. This is not a religious dogma, but a Marxist-Leninist conviction, supported by the indisputable facts of life.

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—as pointed out by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations—has had a stimulating effect on the entire international communist movement. At that Congress the Soviet comrades proclaimed the Marxist principle that war can be avoided. Everyone can see for himself what has happened since. Did we succeed in safeguarding peace? Yes, we did. Has the communist world become stronger? Yes, it has. Has imperialism become weaker? Yes, by all means. Many peoples have since been liberated from the colonial yoke. A new socialist country was born, and not even just anywhere, but in the Western hemisphere, in the backyard of the American imperialists. This is an incontestable fact.

There is also discussion from time to time about the number of socialist countries. Discussion, of course, is always in place and we do argue with the Yugoslav comrades on some of the theses of their party's programme. But in the long run we are following the rational path. Socialist Yugoslavia is our neighbour, and if we are striving to have normal relations with the United States, why shouldn't we strive

even harder to have normal and good neighbourly relations with socialist Yugoslavia, which is right next to us, at our borders, and with whose people we are bound together by a common fate.

Thus disregarding temporary differences of views, we can pinpoint fourteen countries in the world with a social system based on socialism. This is a wonderful achievement.

Comrades,

The principle of peaceful coexistence was bequeathed to the communists by Lenin, and it was further elaborated by the Twentieth Congress, in accordance with the changed relations of forces. Every development of the seven years which have elapsed since then proves the truth, power and magnificence of this principle. We are fully conscious of the fact that the principle of peaceful coexistence applies to the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, but it means, at the same time, a struggle in the field of ideology, of economic competition and in many other spheres. We continue to support the principle of peaceful coexistence of states, and are fully confident that in the ideological debate and in the economic competition the socialist system of society will triumph over the capitalist system, over imperialism.

We adhere to our principles, but will ensure our safety and maintain an up-to-date standard of national defence, because this is an indispensable argument we must have recourse to. This is, of course, nothing to joke about, but we have to face the situation that, no matter how often we repeat to the imperialist leaders what Marx, Engels and Lenin stated, they just will not heed it; this is natural because if they were to take this into consideration they would not be imperialists but communists. On the other hand, if we place before them the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and make them realize that these ideas are backed by a real, tangible force, then they will immediately undertake a thorough study of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The treaty for the partial banning of nuclear tests was signed in Moscow by the representatives of the three negotiating countries, the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain. We had already had the opportunity of expressing our opinion at the time of the negotiations. We approved the fact that the negotiations took place and we

welcome the understanding reached and the signing of the treaty. I can say that the Hungarian People's Republic will also sign this treaty in the next few days.

We realize that this is a partial result. But it is important just the same. In the first place, there will be no more pollution of the atmosphere, and this is in the interest of all mankind. Secondly, the agreement is a step forward in the direction of the complete banning of nuclear weapon tests, the destruction of atomic weapons of all sorts, general and complete disarmament and the liquidation of the cold war. We can size up soberly the road, the great struggle and efforts mankind must go through before we can achieve the complete banning and destruction of the nuclear weapons, and general and complete disarmament, the full liquidation of the cold war and the attainment of a lasting peace. But we are making the first step forward in order that the rest may follow after. This is how we evaluate, and why we approve, the atomic test ban treaty.

The peace-loving peoples of the world welcome this agreement. This is understandable, because after many years of struggle the efforts of all those who have fought for the cause of peace all over the world have at last borne their first fruit. I am sure that this success will add redoubled strength to hundreds of millions of people to carry on an even more vigorous fight, in still greater unity for peace, so that the peoples score many more victories. The most reactionary circles of the United States and West Germany oppose the agreement, the fanatics of French great-power chauvinism are against it, and unfortunately the government of the Chinese People's Republic is opposed to the agreement. Of course, their motives are different. The essential thing, however, is that the agreement is greeted in all countries throughout the world by all those political trends, social strata and circles which are partisans of peace. We welcome it, too, because our country and people are also supporting the policy of peace.

In conclusion I would like to deal with our work of construction. I believe one cannot discuss either the questions of foreign policy, or the visit of our party and government delegation to the Soviet Union, without dwelling on our domestic work of construction. Our party membership and our class-conscious working people are sincere and convinced supporters of our line. They expects us to cast the vote

of our party and government for the correct, Marxist–Leninist line and for proposals advancing the cause of peace everywhere, at international forums, at gatherings of the international communist movement, and through acts of foreign policy. The weight of our party's voice in the international communist movement and the weight of our government's vote on questions of foreign policy are in direct proportion to the results of our people's efforts, and their internal work of construction. If our people's struggle is successful, and the cause of socialism in our country gains and triumphs, and the work of socialist construction achieves added results, then the vote of our party and of the government of our People's Republic has greater weight on the scale of international affairs.

Our work of construction not only creates the prerequisites for a better life for our people, it also has international significance. It is a fact, for instance, that leading American circles do not like the Hungarian People's Republic, especially not its government, any more than they did in 1956. Yet, when all is said and done, they now look upon us with different eyes. Why is this so? Because they are convinced that the Hungarian People's Republic is very much alive and thriving quite irrespective of their desires and wishes, and they acknowledge this fact.

During our long journey in the Soviet Union we obviously waited for news from home as well. When, for instance, the data issued by the Office of Statistics on the fulfilment of the plan for the first half year arrived, we studied them with a great deal of attention.

Our industry fulfilled its plan only 99 per cent during the first half year. Nevertheless, in our opinion this is not so bad when one takes into consideration the extreme difficulties which faced our entire economy during the first three months because of the unexpectedly long winter. In industry and transport we have overcome a considerable part of the lag; the seasonal work in agriculture was carried out with satisfactory results; the state purchasing plan was fulfilled during the first half year, while our foreign trade balance was better than anticipated. The average wage per employee in the state industry went up by almost 3.3 per cent, while the total wages payed increased by 7 per cent; the same rise of 7 per cent was shown in the total cash income of the population and in retail sales as well, as compared

with the previous year. Taking all this into consideration we decided that the past half year could be regarded as successful after all.

We must work very hard during the remainder of this year. The tasks have been clearly presented by the Central Committee resolution made public last Sunday. We are faced with great tasks in the building industry, in agriculture, transport, the fulfilment of the export plans, in the reduction of the production costs and in raising productivity. If we can develop the momentum of the second quarter, we have all the possibilities of closing this year—which by the way is the middle and in many respects the crucial year of our Five-Year Plan—with excellent results in our economic construction as well. To achieve this our forces will have to be mobilized. With your permission I shall begin the enumeration of our forces with our party.

Our party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, has shown its fitness to carry out its historic mission as the revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian working class. Ours is a Marxist-Leninist party, united ideologically, politically and organizationally. It is developing healthily and gaining in strength, leading and guiding the life of our society and state and the activity of our people. Looking back to, and gaining strength from, previous years when we overcame tremendous difficulties, our party—from the unassailable position of our internal order, and the tremendous rise in the international prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic among friends and those indifferent or hostile alike—is faced with the responsibility of leading the people with still greater energy, with more firmness of principle and with greater consistency, to renewed victories in economic and cultural achievement. The party is our main strength. Alongside this the organized strength of our people's state is also growing from day to day.

Under the present healthy and proper conditions the party does not operate alone, in isolation, but with the secure and close support of the mass organizations, the trade unions, the Communist Youth Union, the women councils and other social and mass organizations. Our party can confidently rely upon the Patriotic People's Front movement, its committees and activists. The class-conscious workers in the vanguard, the hundreds of thousands of participants in the socialist brigade movement are a tremendous force; these are people who are

strengthening the socialist thinking and social sense of responsibility of our people, not only in words, but in deeds, and by the strength of their example they are of great assistance in our work of construction.

We can safely rely on the forces represented by our internationalism, by our internationalist ties. I must mention, first of all, Soviet–Hungarian friendship which has become still firmer, a major mainstay in our struggle; the united strength of the peoples of the socialist countries and of the international communist movement, the united power of the former colonial peoples fighting for their independence and of the colonial peoples still fighting for their freedom, and the united strength of the peace partisans. All this is an extremely important support for our people's struggle.

Dealing with the problems of internal construction let me refer once more to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.). It is gratifying that during the last session there was unanimity with regard to the general trend of our efforts and in our intentions to widen cooperation. There are good possibilities to develop, by a sensible and correct policy and through the coordination of our ideas, the economy of the countries affiliated to C.M.E.A. one by one and also collectively, at a rapid pace.

When comparing the situation in Hungary with that in some capitalist country one can state that there is people's power here and the living standards of the people have risen considerably compared with the past. It is a fact that we have made a tremendous advance in so far as, for example, rent and transport expenses are concerned, in social insurance, culture and in many other respects, that we have achieved far more for our people than the workers of a capitalist country could have even dreamt of. Food prices are generally lower in Hungary than in the capitalist countries. But it must also be admitted—when comparing our state of affairs with those of advanced capitalist countries—that the working people in these countries can at present obtain consumer goods more cheaply, in greater quantities and in better quality than in our country. The task is quite clear in this important sphere, too: we have to do away with the heritage of the past and work in the direction of producing cheaper, more and better quality consumer goods than the capitalist countries within a few years.

It is absolutely clear, however, that consumer goods at the scale, price and quality required can and will be produced only through international cooperation. We can advance solely through specialized production, based on an international division of labour and cooperation.

It is gratifying that our Central Committee and the government approved the position taken by our delegation at the C.M.E.A. meeting. We are for closer and multilateral cooperation, involving two, three, seven, eight or even more countries. Our people working in the C.M.E.A. bodies are faced with the responsibility of properly representing and serving this international concord and cooperation, which in our judgement is the best internationalist service to the cause of socialism and at the same time the shortest path to the establishment of our people's well-being. I also wish to express here my agreement with what Comrade Khrushchov stated at the Kremlin in the course of the Hungarian-Soviet friendship meeting, namely that we must convince the working people of the entire world of the justice of our cause, including those who think with their heads, as well as those who tend to see the light through their stomachs. The latter will be convinced through their stomachs that communism is indeed the society of the future. This society is the most just, the best, the only healthy and free human society which can ensure both peace and well-being to mankind, and to a hitherto unmatched degree. This is our socialist, our communist objective.

So far as our people's struggle is concerned, we have lately clarified many questions, and our position and path is quite clear. Our people have learned a tremendous amount politically; they support the stand and policies of our party, they stand behind our plans, not only in words, but with work as well. We have to continue on this clear-cut, straight road, and must devote ourselves to the most revolutionary of actions, to practical deeds, to the tasks of socialist construction. We consider it a good fortune for our people that we are matching together on this road with the Soviet Union, the peoples of the socialist countries, the detachments of the international communist and labour movement, and with all soberly thinking people who support the cause of peace.

Comrades,

The resolution of the Central Committee calls upon all people to take a firm, principled stand, to carry on the practical work of construction with renewed efforts. Work is not without occasional annoyance or anger, but nevertheless work gives one the greatest satisfaction and brings the results, a better and finer life for our people. Let us continue to proceed on this road, because it is the road of the complete building of socialism, which leads to communism, peace, well-being, and the flowering and prosperity of the Hungarian people, of the nation.

TOAST ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE DANUBE CEMENT AND LIME WORKS

November 5, 1963

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The Central Committee of our party and the government decided on the construction of the Danube Cement and Lime Works in 1957. At that time the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian people, assisted by the international working class, were waging a very difficult and strenuous struggle in defence of people's power, our socialist achievements and a socialist future. The decision to build this project reflected the determination and confidence with which we looked upon the country's future in the difficult situation which prevailed at the time. And now the official inauguration of the Danube Cement and Lime Works has taken place today and every basic department of the works is functioning or is ready to function, and will fulfil the tasks allotted to them in the continued building of socialism in our country.

The Danube Cement and Lime Works is one of the major investments of our Five-Year Plan, and let me add that for the time being it is one of the few investments which were completed ahead of schedule and at a lower cost than planned. This is why, representing the Central Committee of the party and the government on this solemn occasion, I share heartfelt rejoicings with you and with all those whose labour has been embodied in the construction of this project. We are convinced that the realization of the plans for the Danube Cement and Lime Works, and the way this was done, is a great victory for the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian people, for socialist labour, socialist ideas and, last but not least, for proletarian internationalism.

Very many people took part in the construction of this project, designers, organizers, building workers, engineering workers who manufactured the necessary machinery, transport workers and peasants who provided food for the army of builders. The efforts of the entire people were united on this project. The construction of the plant can also be called a victory of proletarian internationalism because 80 per cent of the mechanical equipment in the cement works is the product of the working people of the German Democratic Republic. It has also been pointed out at this inauguration meeting that our brothers from Poland, Czechoslovakia as well as from other countries took part in the realization of this project.

The construction of the Danube Cement and Lime Works means something more in the life of our people over and above the solution of mere economic, organizational and technical tasks. As has happened in case of other similar great projects of a socialist character, this construction also brought about a very considerable transformation of people. Those who came here over the last four years and took part in the work are not the same as they were at the beginning. They have grown in human, socialist stature.

I rejoice, together with the other invited guests, in the successes, and will abstain therefore from delivering a highly critical speech. I am afraid that it would be the same here as at certain lectures on the evils of alcoholism when all kinds of people are in the audience, except the alcoholics. After all 270 out of the some 300 guests at this dinner took part in the building of the cement works, and have been given decorations for their exemplary and outstanding work. We have here a group of magnificent people, it is a moving experience to be with them. We feel that we are with comrades and friends who are really in the front ranks of the struggle and who labour to build a socialist society.

There are, of course, considerable differences among the people who constructed the Danube Cement and Lime Works. They are even of different nationality, since Germans, young and old, have been working here for years, alongside the Hungarians. The construction of this works, we can say, took place under extremely difficult conditions and circumstances. The works can more or less be called a Hungarian–G.D.R. project. There was a period during construction when the

youth, the Hungarian Communist Youth Union and the Free German Youth League, had to intervene, in my opinion, quite correctly. This was necessary because we ran at times into such difficulties that according to the sober judgement of level-headed, older comrades it looked as though everything would have to be halted. This is when the greater enthusiasm and stronger will of the youth stood in good stead.

Many different people are devoting much attention to the problems of youth in our country. Social organizations, educationalists, philosophers, moralists, writers and people from all walks of life are concerned. The approach to the problems of youth is therefore varied. There is a one-sided view which takes into consideration only the most outward manifestations of the life of young people, such as the dance which happens to be in fashion, clothing, etc. This gives us, older folks, plenty of food for thought, because the rhythm of these dances is quite strange to someone who started dancing forty years ago. But one has to stick to realities when evaluating the young, and this plant, its construction, the way in which difficulties that arose during the project were overcome—all prove that the youth of Hungary and of the German Democratic Republic, as indicated by their cooperation here, have espoused the cause of socialism, and know how to work in a socialist manner.

The socialist future of our people and country and of our socialist world depends, of course, on material factors, too, as industrial development, for example, is also dependent on the funds available for investment. But the surest guarantee of the socialist future of our people and mankind is nevertheless the socialist spirit which is becoming ever stronger and deeper among the working people; this was splendidly demonstrated by the youth during the construction of this plant.

We have come here, dear comrades, at the invitation of your management, because today is the conclusion of a project here which is of nation-wide significance. I can only say that we are solidly behind you. We have been so since building started, and we wish to share your joy today.

On behalf of the Central Committee and the government I wish to take this opportunity to express our thanks to all those who came to assist us in an internationalist manner, above all, to the German

comrades who took the lion's share in helping us but also to the Czechoslovak and Polish comrades. We ask those who are with us today to convey to their people our thanks, our greetings and best wishes, together with the thought that this is the way we must co-operate, or rather even better, in the solution of all common tasks in the future.

We have come here, comrades, to congratulate, on behalf of the Central Committee and the government, all those Hungarian comrades —workers, technicians, designers, engineers, builders, fitters and constructors—whose labour created this great socialist project. And allow me also to congratulate you in person, you who are here now and have been given decorations for your socialist deeds. As has already been pointed out at this meeting, there are people of various callings here. Some of them will move to another place, a different project to carry on with the construction of a socialist society. Others will stay here to continue with the building of socialism by taking over this plant. To all those who have left or are going to leave with the conclusion of the job, and to those who are staying here and will produce the cement, let me express my best wishes for their future work.

I would like to conclude my greetings with the wish that we should propagate, strengthen and deepen the spirit which has been manifest here, during the construction of the Danube Cement and Lime Works, and has helped carry through the major project of our Five-Year Plan; we should tell ourselves to carry on like this as a matter of encouragement, and should urge this on others. Let us work still better to reach our aims, the complete construction of a socialist society, and the objective of a peaceful and happy life for our people.

I congratulate you, and wish you good health and continued successes!

INTERVIEW TO *NÉPSZABADSÁG*

December 24, 1963

As 1963 drew to a close, Comrade János Kádár received Zoltán Komócsin, Péter Rényi and Károly Szamosi, editors of *Népszabadság*, who asked him to answer several questions of public interest.

The questions and answers are printed below.

Question: How do you evaluate the progress of the national economy this year? What are the major economic problems we have to concentrate on in the coming year?

Answer: It is an old-established custom at the end of the year to draw up a balance sheet, to review one's own affairs and the country's position. The results of last year's work are evaluated and the prospects for next year gauged. The 1963 economic year, unfortunately, was badly affected by the extremely hard winter of 1962–63. It is well known that the winter was highly detrimental to agriculture, and—although public opinion is less conscious of it—industrial production and transport also suffered greatly.

In the face of this situation the Central Committee of our party and the government called upon the economic executives and the working people to overcome, with strenuous efforts, the special difficulties caused by the hard and poor start of the economic year. This appeal met with response, and the working people made indeed great efforts which in most of the fields, wherever there was a possibility for it, brought their results.

We do not yet have the final results of the 1963 economic year, as the year is still not over. Yet one can make estimates on the basis of eleven months' results. Industrial output will most probably reach

the target; this means an about 7 per cent increase compared to the previous year. The other major data of our economic work are also favourable. With regard to the investments, these most essential guarantees of our further progress, it is clear that the investment targets of 37,000 million forints of the Five-Year Plan for 1963 have been overfulfilled, and the total investments realized this year will surpass 41,000 million forints.

The trend of income and consumption, these national economic factors so decisive from the point of view of the population, can also be considered satisfactory. The cash income of the population increased about 8 per cent in 1963, compared to the previous year. Consumption also went up by 8 per cent, while the real income of the working people will register a 5 to 5.5 per cent rise. The overall picture therefore is quite favourable.

Mention should also be made of this year's poor bread-grain crop. Owing to the extremely rigorous winter and the summer drought our bread-grain harvest fell 25 per cent short of the target. This poor bread-grain crop was not a phenomenon limited only to Huugary, therefore the socialist countries could not make up for our deficit in crop. The government evidently considers the bread supply and the making up for the lack of roughage a matter of primary importance. We have been making up for the shortages, as it is known with grain purchased in western countries. This had led to new difficulties in our balance of payments.

I wish to emphasize, however, that agriculture made progress in 1963, too, and increased its production despite the poor grain crop. The total value of agricultural output this year will surpass last year's by 4 per cent or a bit more. This is a real achievement, attesting to the good job done by the agricultural workers, the managing bodies, the state and cooperative farms, since the fact that these global year-end figures are not bad at all can only be attributed to their very diligent and devoted work during the entire year.

Considering the national economy as a whole we can therefore point to significant progress in both industrial and agricultural output; transport also solved its fundamental tasks. We should also add that this does not only mean the fulfilment of this year's plan, but also that of the respective targets of the Five-Year Plan. We have not reached

in agriculture the estimated level planned for the first three years of the Five-Year Plan because of the last three years of drought, but the targets were overfulfilled in industry and in other sectors of the national economy; therefore there is no need for changing the fundamental objectives of the Five-Year Plan.

The national economy thus continued to develop, its foundations became firmer, and the fruits of our labour ensure a balanced economy and the prerequisites of its further growth. This proves two points. First, that our national economy has solid foundations, since we overcame very serious and unexpected difficulties. Second, it proves that there are considerable, untapped reserves and possibilities in our national economy.

Therefore the primary task remains for us to do our utmost in industry, agriculture and in all spheres of the national economy to raise labour productivity. Higher labour productivity primarily calls for the modernization of the means of production, and this should be kept in mind when we are making investments. But it is just as necessary for executives holding commanding posts in the economy to organize the work better, and for the working people to make better use of the working time.

Let me make an important point. When speaking of better work I mean more rational, more conscientious and more disciplined work, not simply for a quantitative rise in output, but also for improved quality.

In this connection I must refer to what I said recently at the inauguration ceremonies of the Danube Cement and Lime Works. Succinctly, at present a part of the people, perhaps in all vocations, work with socialist consciousness and enthusiasm, and produce way above what is expected of them. Let us consider the socialist brigade movement, embracing close to half a million members. Another large portion of the people meet their obligation honestly. But there is another part—how large it is must be established concretely in every branch and place of work by those who work there—who are slackers. They are like the horse hitched to the old Hungarian carriage who refused to pull the weight and expected the others to pull for him. These people do not even comply with the requirements of the Labour Code and elementary decency. It would be very desirable if these

slackers were given the necessary "encouragement" by the honest working people to make them comply with their obligations.

In so far as next year is concerned, the 1964 plan has been completed; it is realistic, in line with the objectives of the national economy, and must be sent to most of the plants before new year. What is necessary now is to get ready and proceed with the implementation of the plan.

Question: Why is the speedier development of agriculture at present still a cardinal problem of the healthy progress of our national economy?

Answer: All surveys and analyses of the fundamental problems of the national economy lead to the conclusion that the rapid development of agriculture is the key problem of the advance of the entire national economy. This has been stated by the Eighth Congress resolution of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

There are several views and opinions concerning the present rate and standard of development of our agricultural progress. Many people raise various questions and quite a few are critical of the present position of agriculture. Before dealing with the present, I have to refer to an older, historic aspect of the problem. It is a well-known fact that following Liberation, when our people seized power and proceeded with the building of a new society, a socialist society, it had to face the sad legacy of a most backward and ruined country. It is common knowledge that Hungary was an agricultural country, and we do not exaggearte when pointing to its former semi-colonial status of supplying food and raw material to other industrially and economically more advanced countries.

Capitalist development in Hungary failed to reach a high level. Under such circumstances, we were, in the first phase of development, unavoidably faced with the necessity of a rapid industrialization of our country.

With regard to the years between 1949 and 1957, we can critically and rightfully state that while developing of necessity our industry, primarily the heavy industry, we did not pay the attention to the promotion of agriculture which would have been desirable at that time, too.

Of course, we continue to have insufficiencies to make up in indus-

try, but we must energetically develop agriculture and must make up the lag suffered during the years preceding 1957.

When gauging the standard of agricultural production in general, one cannot overlook the social relationships involved in the problem. Not a single economist could question the fact that high-standard agricultural production is only possible under large-scale farming. In the past our people knew only one type of large-scale agricultural production, the system of large holdings of the exploiting landowning class. This was tantamount to the continued slavery of the Hungarian people and was a serious brake on the development of production in the twentieth century. It is clear that the prerequisite for the significant development of agricultural production in the interest of the people was the solution of the big question placed before us, too, by history—the socialist reorganization of agriculture. This is what happened. We led our peasantry to the road of building socialism and laid the foundations of modern socialist large-scale farming.

Each year following socialist reorganization, Hungarian agriculture had to overcome a very inclement weather. Our peasantry on the road to socialism has not only overcome these difficulties but our cooperative farms have become considerably stronger during that time. Since the reorganization of agriculture there has been here an increase in the total output and in commodity production; the rise in state purchases have led to an improvement in the supply of the population and an increase in the central stocks.

The present position of agriculture raises a number of problems among many well-intentioned and honest people who wish to speed up progress. It is well known, however, that the present state of affairs in agriculture is a favourite target for the enemies of our system. There is an always recurring hostile argument from abroad: how come that while Hungary during the earlier decades, during the Horthy regime, was an exporter of farm produce, primarily of grain and meat, at present it has to import grain? These hostile critics failed to point out that goods exported during the Horthy days were taken away from domestic consumption. Today the food supply of the people is altogether different, there are no needy, starving millions in Hungary. The home consumption has risen considerably.

These "critics" also keep quiet about the fact that Hungary is

exporting at present—considering the global value and not the identical items—more agricultural produce and not less than during the Horthy era.

There has been a favourable change in the structure of our agriculture; farming has become more intensive. We are now faced with the task of developing crop farming through mechanization, the increased use of irrigation, fertilizer, chemical weed-killers and pesticides and the proper seeds. This should lead to a rise in livestock raising and in the entire farm output. We must grow the country's bread grain, simultaneously with the export of agricultural produce necessary for the good of the entire national economy. Our party and government wish to achieve this objective while properly supplying our population and not through depriving it of foodstuffs.

Some critics ask, moreover, why the large agricultural investments take so long to bring returns. They are wrong to ask such questions. Agriculture calls at present for the maximum possible investments. This is because we have to make up for a historical lag, on the one hand, and to develop a modern, new socialist agriculture with a sound structure, on the other. All these factors will have a favourable effect on the future balance of our national economy, and will promote the improved supply of the population and the rise in living standards.

Agricultural investments went up considerably in recent years. In our opinion these funds invested in our agriculture, coming out of the Hungarians' labour, have been utilized to the best possible advantage. These investments, because of their very nature, are not recovered immediately; it takes years until their effect is felt. But they have led to noticeable results by this time.

Let me mention two things only. First, we could offset the extremely detrimental effect of the inclement weather in agriculture this year and during the two preceding years because agriculture had the material means for waging a struggle against the vagaries of weather. Second, let us also think of relieving the agricultural labourers of the almost inhuman part of agricultural work. One must only think of the physical strain of a harvest some twenty years ago and compare it to the present overwhelmingly mechanized operations to appreciate our achievements in this sphere.

Agriculture must meet the requirements of the Hungarian people

for staple foodstuffs. It must ensure, to a growing extent, raw materials for industry. Agricultural exports, vitally important for our national economy, must also be increased. Let us not begrudge the investments, because the new means of production, coupled with the zeal of our agricultural labourers who took the road to socialism, will best contribute to the future prosperity of our entire people.

Question: It is customary to say that the standard and effectiveness of party work are determined primarily by the results achieved in production. The production results are quite encouraging this year, too; still and all one can hear opinions that party work does not progress, it is marking time; in fact some people say that political activity is in retrogression compared to the previous years. Is this an actual fact in your opinion, Comrade Kádár?

Answer: I must say regretfully that I fail to understand these allegations. I see neither the reasons nor the source for these opinions. I can say that those people whose work I am in a position to follow daily and closely—people working in the Central Committee and in general in commanding posts in the party, social, state and economic bodies at various levels—impress me as if they were working harder every day. Of course, not only these people are responsible for last year's achievements. The results could have never been reached were it not for similarly devoted efforts of ordinary party members and local leaders in factories, shops, on state farms, cooperative farms and in administration.

One can presume that some of the people formulate their opinion by superficial observations in this question as well. A cursory glance at a party meeting or a party headquarters reveals obviously an entirely different picture during the period of the direct struggle for political power and a different one during the weekdays, months and years of socialist construction. When the seizure or defence of the power historically becomes the urgent issue, then the situation calls for mobilization in the strict sense of the word; this means hustling and bustling, the issuance of instructions, with people rushing hither and thither and in general with a lot of commotion obvious to all.

When a party organization, be it industrial, agricultural or territorial, tackles the complicated problems of socialist construction, such as higher productivity or reduction of production costs, it appears that

there is less activity. I believe that the party, the inner party life and the activity of party members show a continuous sound progress. Our party membership is more active today and is putting in more efforts than previously. It is concentrating its forces on the solution of the complicated problems of socialist construction. This may call for less hustle and bustle, but for much closer attention, persistent efforts lasting sometimes for years until stable results are attained.

While on the subject, I would like to state that in our opinion much more attention should be paid to the rural party organizations, especially to the speeding up of the development of party organizations in the cooperative farms. This is not because these party organizations failed to progress or there has been a slackening in the activity of the membership. On the contrary, a significant progress has been made during the last three years in this field, too, but this is not in proportion with the highly important role our rural and cooperative farm party organizations have to play in the building of socialist agriculture.

As you pointed out in your question, the yardstick of party activity and the result of party work are gauged now by the development of economic work in the given period. In my opinion still greater interconnections must be considered when judging the work of the party and the activity of the membership.

Let us recall the progress made during the past seven years, the objectives of really historical significance which we have achieved; in formulating and realizing them the decisive word and deed came from the party and the party membership. We re-established and consolidated the working-class power and the people's democratic order, we continued with socialist industrialization, we carried out the socialist reorganization of agriculture and solved many other great problems. Let us consider the achievements, and an immediate answer is forthcoming to the question whether there has been an advance in party work and the activity of the party members—considering, of course, the entire party membership in general. I believe the answer will be unequivocally positive. No one can question or doubt the fact that the party mobilized and organized our people for the solution of these problems, that the party members marched in the forefront and participated in the big job, setting an example to the people.

It is also proper to refer to the considerable growth of the party

during recent years. At present the party has about 520,000 members. This means that the party membership increased by approximately 180,000 since the June 1957 Party Conference. This involves a tremendous progress, since the party strengthened its ranks primarily with such working people, young and old, who were not party members in earlier times and who became convinced, through the party's policies, that their place is in the ranks of the membership.

I would like to add one more thought. If the party's growth in one field or another, in some branch is not sound, the trouble often lies in some comrades who, not seeing the process of development, are prone to label individuals, once and for all: this is a party member, and this is non-party. People are not statues sculpted out of stone, but living and developing individuals. Party members were not born as such, they became party members through their own development, as a result of the party's work of enlightenment and education. Our party is surrounded today by a large mass of non-party sympathizers, our party organizations are increasingly mastering the real communist style of work of involving non-party people in the execution of the different tasks. But there are many instances when they become complacent with this result and do not pay the proper attention to the individual development of non-party people who participate in the work, they overlook the fact that the party members come from among the best non-party sympathizers.

Question: How should inner-party discussions be judged in general? What is your opinion about the concrete discussions in some party circles on questions like the relation of the working class to its allies, and the ties between party members and non-party people?

Answer: Inner-party discussions, according to the Leninist interpretation of party life, are normal and necessary elements of the activities of all communist parties. The party is a fighting organization in which unity of will and of action prevails. The normal procedure is to discuss in advance what is to be done in all questions; following this the competent party organ reaches the proper decision which is binding on all party members. Only through prediscussion and persuasion can it be ensured that unity of action shall fully prevail on the basis of inner conviction in the entire party.

Many new tasks arise before the party in the course of years, and

the proper answer must be found for them. This calls for the analysis of the situation and the discussion of the tasks. This holds good for all the organizations of the party. I consider the mere existence of inner-party discussion therefore a healthy phenomenon.

A discussion has been going on among our party members on many questions. The central and main line of the party is adequately applied in the entire activity of the party; our party is united ideologically, politically and organizationally. But this unity cannot be interpreted to mean that 520,000 people shall have at once and precisely the same views on all the complex questions of life. This would be absurd and impossible, since we are not dealing with machines and robots, but with breathing and thinking human beings. Their opinions obviously differ on many subjects, all the more so because they do not come across the various problems of society at the same time and under identical conditions. It is self-evident that a communist metal worker does not have the same concept of the correlations of the national economy as a department head in the Planning Office, or *vice versa*, a state employee may not be familiar with many issues which engage the daily attention of the metal worker. Our entire party membership, when faced with new problems raised by development in our country, must become familiar with the new questions posed by life, so that each party member can think over, digest and formulate, together with the other comrades, the most rational solution.

Incorrect views, that are incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and our policies, professed by some party members, can and should lead to discussions. After all, remnants of old, deep-rooted erroneous views still prevail in our party, such as dogmatism, sectarian attitude, revisionist views, opportunism. Their complete and final elimination from every person's mind, thinking and habitual outlook calls for a very long process.

I am not only thinking of old and incorrect views. Similar ones may arise in a new situation as well, moreover they may be prompted and stimulated from the outside. We know quite well that imperialism does not spare efforts, money or propaganda in order to disseminate bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views, thus creating confusion in our public opinion.

With regard to the discussions about the basic relations to non-party

members or the policy of alliances of the party in some of our organizations or among party members, this was not surprising for me either.

During the last stage of our party's development, to be more specific, since 1956, many questions of cardinal importance were put on the agenda; not only those that are obvious to all people with a communist conviction—such as the essence of the working-class power—but novel, complex questions as well.

All essential problems came up obviously for discussion first of all at the leading organ of our party, the Central Committee. After formulating its stand, the Central Committee began to propagate it among the party membership and the entire public opinion of the country. The fact that very many questions of great urgency had to be solved in quick succession by the party had probably the consequence that it was impossible to discuss them as long and as thoroughly as it would have been necessary to give a clear-cut and satisfactory answer to all the problems of interest to every party member. In discussions of the kind, we recommend to all our party organizations to keep up their patient and persistent enlightenment work, even if a decision has already been passed on the issue, because, as a rule, we have to dispel the doubts and reservations of people of good faith.

Our party, I am convinced, developed its policy of alliances correctly, in the spirit of Leninist teachings. This includes the thesis that the working class and its revolutionary party must lead all the working people, including the working petty bourgeoisie, onto the road of building socialism. This is what we are doing, and we are doing it correctly. If this is still not understood by some of the party members, it must be explained to them patiently.

The fundamental relation to non-party people is just as simple and clear. The party can only solve its historic task if it works together with the huge masses of non-party people, convincing them of the correctness of its objectives, and if it acts in harmony with them, involving them in the work. There is a debated part of this question, namely whether or not it is proper to assign public offices to non-party people. This question has by now been answered in our country by practice, and to the effect that it is correct beyond any doubt. The most I can add to it is that it is not a simple matter of arithmetics. The gist of the matter does not lie in the number or ratio of party

members and non-party people in a certain group of office-holders, but rather in that capable non-party people can and should be involved in all public functions if they want to take an honest part in the building of socialism.

In so far as the leading role of the working class is concerned, this in my judgement is also incontestable, because the party embodying the ideology, will and objective of the working class is the leading force of our society, and the decisive posts are held by the working class.

Coming back to the discussions, let me remark that the application of a spirit of critical discussion, not only in the party, but also in the Patriotic People's Front movement and our entire public life, is a very wholesome phenomenon. I believe that the appreciation of and respect for non-party people is not expressed by our shying away from discussion in cases when they have an incorrect attitude in a certain question. On the contrary, we show our appreciation to our comrades-in-arms if we discuss with them our common problems and, having reached an agreement, we urge them on to common action.

Question: As part of our development the requirements towards communists and party members are also growing. To what an extent are communists meeting higher requirements today? How do you judge the moral attitude and the steadfastness of the communists in the present-day stage of our work?

Answer: In so far as the social standing of single communists or their appraisal by public opinion is concerned, this does not depend on the enunciations of certain slogans or the declaration of resolutions, but solely and exclusively on the work accomplished by them. The individual communist as well as the non-communist who is active in public life are always judged by people whether or not they are working selflessly, for the good of the community. Appreciation, authority and respect can only be earned and maintained through work.

At present, owing mainly to the progress in our country and to a certain rise in the living standard, many people are saving money and making plans for investments, of purchasing a TV set, a refrigerator or even an automobile. The question arises at times—and this is done by some of our moralizing literary men, too—how to judge a person fostering such plans, especially if he is a communist. I do not

wish to imply that this problem should be glossed over. Yet in order to give a correct answer, the question must be raised correctly.

I wish to say at the outset that we are advocating as the major objective of our party's struggle, to ensure a better life for the working people and to raise the people's living standard. Accordingly there is a general increase in consumption in our country, more flats are built, the standard of services is rising and, as a result of all this, more and more people are acquiring material goods, such personal property which is being looked upon as the embodiment of a better life, of a higher living standard. We cannot, therefore, brand a person who thus wishes to add to his own property and that of his family as one harbouring evil thoughts, since these acquisitions are, we believe, a basic aim of socialism. Neither can we say that the satisfaction of these desires is all right for a non-party person, while being wrong for a communist. But a communist in the right sense of the word differs from a person of non-communist thinking in that he places the public interest first and his own individual interest second. He gives priority to that which promotes the cause of all the people, and only then, subordinated to it, comes whatever will make his own life richer, better and more comfortable, while working for advancing public welfare.

This being so, there is nothing to blame with it. We have to condemn a mentality, however—and should this become widespread it would indeed seriously jeopardize socialist advance—which disregards public interests, the great problems and concerns of our social development, and gives first place to the individual interest, the drive for money and material wealth. At times even party members may be influenced by this mentality. This attitude is immoral, of course, and has to be condemned. It is especially impermissible in the case of communists. There are still people who think like this in our country; this comes from the leftovers of bourgeois ideology and the existence of a petty bourgeoisie. We must combat this capitalist grabbing by all means, with education, persuasion and, when necessary, with strict disciplinary measures.

Question: Our party membership is concerned about the debate going on between the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the international communist movement. Some proposals have been made

to put an end to public polemics. What is your opinion about these suggestions? What do you think are the major tasks to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement?

Answer: We have already dealt with the question of inner-party discussions. This may surprise you, but in my opinion discussions in a certain sense, within definite limits, and of a definite character, are necessary also in the international communist movement. The development of the international communist movement and the trend of world events pose many new questions. These questions can be answered correctly only after a precise analysis and discussion of the situation and after an exchange of opinions on what is to be done. The constructive discussion of problems has been characteristic of Marxism and the international communist movement all along their history.

As far as your question is concerned, that is entirely different. An unhealthy debate and public polemics developed recently on the basic problems of the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 within the international communist and labour movement. This debate is harmful, beyond all doubt, from the point of view of the development and the unity of action of the international communist movement.

It is well known that an open attack was launched against the theses elaborated and accepted at the joint meeting of the entire international communist movement: the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence, the concept that war can be avoided, and other basic theses of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. These attacks reveal an incorrect evaluation of the international situation, a dogmatic outlook and sectarianism, and this is harmful to our common struggle. It is desirable to close this discussion and for us to ensure in this otherwise favourable international situation the unity of action and joint stand of the world communist movement and its mainstay, the world socialist system.

The Central Committee of our party has repeatedly discussed the question and taken a resolute stand in support of ending the public debate and doing away with polemical methods impermissible in the communist movement, as required by the interests of the international labour movement. We condemn the substitution of slander and calumny for argumentation in any debate. Epithets and name-calling have never convinced anyone about the correctness of a viewpoint.

Our Central Committee believes that all our fraternal parties are acting correctly if they stress that which unites us, because this is fundamental. Either we shall put aside those questions on which we do not agree at present and leave to time and practice the settlement of the dispute, or, if some people insist on continuing the discussion, this should not be done in the press, within the sight and hearing of our enemies. Even a public debate is more tolerable if the parties concerned do not go beyond the propagation of their viewpoint, and refrain from slandering and calumniating the other side.

With regard to the disputed questions we take a firm stand, we adhere to the Leninist principles advocated by us. It is no secret to our fraternal parties that in the basic questions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, namely in the evaluation of the international situation, in the struggle for the cause of socialism and peace, and in the question of foreign policies to be pursued by the socialist countries, we advocate, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties, that the rallying of all forces capable of progress, for the consolidation of peace, the application of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the abolition of the colonial system, and for social progress, is the common responsibility of all of us.

Our party, like all other fraternal communist and workers' parties, bears great responsibility for the unity and advance of the international communist movement. It is our duty firmly to represent our point of view in principles at the suitable time and place, thus contributing to the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teachings in the face of all distortions, whether dogmatic or revisionist. In this sense we can but reiterate that there shall be put an end to public debates and, together with every fraternal party, we are to make the appropriate efforts for establishing the necessary conditions for a new international conference.

Questions: How do you evaluate the trend of international affairs? Would you tell us your opinion on the removal of the so-called "Hungarian question" from the U.N. General Assembly's agenda? What is the international position of our country and what are our major tasks in foreign policy?

Answer: The decisive feature of the international situation is that

peace has been preserved throughout the world and the principle of peaceful coexistence has been implemented in the relations between countries with differing social systems. This is the main achievement also in 1963 of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, of the international communist movement, of the united strength and struggle of the peoples fighting against colonialism, and of the peace movement.

The documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Meetings express this fundamental objective in the foreign policy of the socialist countries which became the fighting programme of the international communist and workers' movement and of all peace-loving forces. The major theses of the Moscow Meetings are evaluated the world over, even by people distant from the workers' movement and the ideas of communism, to the effect that they express, in the present stage of world development, the interest of all mankind.

The major task, in my opinion, is to continue unshakably to follow the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, better to consolidate and mobilize all progressive and peace-loving forces for the preservation of peace, for such grand objectives as general and complete disarmament, for the final elimination of war from the life of mankind. The liquidation of the shameful colonial system, the liberation of the still enslaved and dependent peoples cannot be separated from this aim. We have learned with a great deal of pleasure and sympathy that new countries have taken the path of independence this year, too; we shall do everything in our power so that every people shall achieve full independence.

Our own tasks follow from the foregoing. We shall advocate the principle of peaceful coexistence and consistently implement it in the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic; moreover, our people shall do their utmost to strengthen the forces safeguarding peace. Military power plays a major role on the side of forces defending peace, but the question is not merely this. The united economic and material strength of the socialist countries is of decisive importance; this also forms the basis of military power while ensuring the implementation of our socialist objectives.

As your question infers, the "Hungarian question" with its cold war aim was not on the agenda of this year's session of the General Assembly of the U.N. The international climate improved by eliminat-

ing at last this artificial issue from the U.N. General Assembly. This is undoubtedly a victory of the progressive and peace-loving forces. But it should also be pointed out that this indicates the emergence of a more sober outlook on the part of those who forced this question, year after year, on the General Assembly's agenda. This saner judgement and attitude is to be commended and is necessary for the realization of the peaceful coexistence of peoples and countries, which is in the interest of all peoples and countries.

The international position of Hungary has changed fundamentally during the last seven years. The Hungarian People's Republic is an equal and respected member of the world socialist system. Moreover, forces in opposition to our system have also been compelled to take cognizance of the tremendous achievements of our people's labour and struggle, of the constantly growing mass influence of our party, of our system's vitality, of the fact that ours is a strong and growing socialist country, which has to be reckoned with.

We are striving in our foreign policy—as emphasized repeatedly and officially by our government—for peaceful coexistence and in fact for good relations, for economic and cultural cooperation with all countries, including those with whose governments we differed sharply earlier. I would also like to say that the international evaluation and position of our country has become more favourable, because we have adhered to our principles, and the Hungarian people, under our party's leadership, has shown a firm stand, defended its socialist achievements and system, followed the road of socialist development without vacillation, thereby achieving praiseworthy and outstanding results.

The recognition of our undeniable achievements has been decked in the West with diverse allegations, like Hungary is becoming "liberalized" and so on. Such a statement springs from a failure to understand the essence of socialism. What they call liberalization and the like is nothing else but the conscious and ceaseless attempt of our party and people to constantly develop our social life and system, and deepen democracy; these shall not make us deviate from our socialist objectives, but rather further their speedier and more effective implementation.

The changed position of the Hungarian People's Republic offers more opportunities for our country to make its voice heard in inter-

national problems and to contribute to preserving peace and to implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence. This guides our government in all steps of foreign policy.

This is what I wanted to say to the questions posed by you. I believe, and I tried to project this in my answers, that the criteria of the state of our public affairs and the figures of our development equally prove that the work of the closing year was of significance for our people. Grand and promising results were achieved, we have the solid foundations and guarantees for a continued political, economic and cultural advance in our internal position, in the creative power of our people, and in the international situation alike.

We are looking ahead to 1964 as another year of work. We shall continue to work persistently, steadfastly and hard, but our labour will bring their fruits, just as this year's efforts were not in vain.

In conclusion, let me take the opportunity to extend, through *Népszabadság*, my best wishes for the New Year to our comrades, to our entire working people.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT MADE ON ACCEPTING THE ORDER OF LENIN AND THE TITLE "HERO OF THE SOVIET UNION"

April 3, 1964

Dear Comrade Khrushchov, Dear Comrades and Friends,

It is part of human nature that one is not able to evaluate one's own activities and deeds exactly and properly, this must be done by others. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., when deciding on this decoration, honoured me with a high evaluation of my activities. I am grateful for this, and wish to express my thanks for the high appreciation and honour.

I can only say that during the entire period of my conscious social activities I have endeavoured to serve the policies of the revolutionary party of the Hungarian working class, according to my communist convictions and my conscience, for the benefit of the Hungarian people. I shall strive to do so in the future.

A number of questions are raised in the reasons given for your decision. I would like to dwell on one, Hungarian-Soviet friendship. It means a lot to me that in the judgement of our Soviet friends I have contributed somewhat to the strengthening and fostering of Hungarian–Soviet friendship. I proclaim myself—like every other Hungarian communist—an internationalist. The internationalism of the conscious members of the Hungarian working class did not originate yesterday, but during the period of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Civil War and the Hungarian Republic of Councils. I belong to the younger generation of Hungarian communists. My comrades and contemporaries, including myself, have all learned and know that you can only be an internationalist if you fight alongside the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin, and are in solidarity with the first worker-peasant state in the world, the great Soviet Union. Friendship with the Soviet people and internationalism are inseparable; this has been so in the more recent period of the history of the international working class, and this is how it will continue to be at all times. We Hungarian communists have always been loyal sons of our people. We are happy to have lived through to the present time when we can work to the fullest extent of our abilities in the socialist homeland of our free poplee, in the Hungarian People's Republic, so that our homeland should flourish and our nation prosper. We Hungarian communists consider it an honourable duty to serve the cause of our people and their socialist future with all our might and ability.

For nineteen years the Hungarian people have been living a new period of their history, a period of development. The substance of this era is the pursuit of socialism and communism. Alongside their own long and bitter struggle our people can first and foremost thank the fraternal assistance of the Soviet people for their freedom, for the opportunity to seize power, for laying the foundations of socialism and for the building of a socialist society. We are indebted to the fraternal assistance of the great Soviet people for our socialist present, and also for the fact that we can look forward with confidence to the socialist future. This is why I believe that every loyal supporter of the socialist homeland, including myself, considers the strengthening of Soviet–Hungarian friendship a lofty moral obligation and an honourable task.

Your decision to bestow this decoration on me came as a great honour. I was told of the decision only a short while ago, but I am fully aware of its significance. I interpret the remarks just made by Comrade Khrushchov as a recognition of the honourable struggle for socialism waged by the Hungarian communists, the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian people. I express my most sincere and heartfelt thanks for your gesture. I ask Comrade Khrushchov and the members of the Soviet party and government delegation to convey my sincere thanks for the decoration to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet and to the Soviet public. Let me add that it is a splendid feeling to accept the decoration from Comrade Khrushchov whom I have always looked upon and honoured as a fatherly friend, an elder brother, and will continue to do so.

SPEECH AT A MASS MEETING HELD IN HONOUR OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION IN THE SPORTS HALL, BUDAPEST

April 9, 1964

Dear Comrade Khrushchov, Dear Soviet Guests, Comrades and Friends,

I sincerely thank you for the hearty welcome and warmly greet all those taking part in this meeting. At this meeting, devoted to Soviet–Hungarian friendship, I wish to extend, together with the representatives of the working people of Budapest, our wholehearted greetings to our beloved guests, the members of the Soviet party and government delegation and to the head of the delegation, the true and beloved friend of our people, Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov.

Comrades,

You all know that last summer a Hungarian party and government delegation, in response to an invitation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government, visited the Soviet Union. In response to our invitation extended during our visit, a Soviet party and government delegation headed by Comrade Khrushchov has arrived in our country. It has been a great joy and honour for our people that the visit of the Soviet comrades coincided with our greatest national holiday, April 4, in that we honour the Soviet people not only as our best friends, but also as our liberators.

Nineteen years ago the sons of the Soviet Union brought peace and freedom to our people. We are indebted to them for the winning back of our national independence, and that, after so many trials and tribulations, the Hungarian people again became master of their own destiny. The Hungarian people will never forget the sacrifices made by

the Soviet people; we esteem the Soviet Union as our liberator, as a real and our closest friend, who we can rely on through thick and thin. We are proud of our friendship with the Soviet Union, it is the most valuable for us. Soviet-Hungarian friendship is our most reliable support at all times and in all situations; it multiplies our strength in labour and in struggle alike.

Comrades,

The Soviet party and government delegation during its present journey has visited factories and research institutes, cooperative farms and colleges, and has met with representatives of our working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. Our Soviet comrades have seen how we live and work, what we have achieved since their last visit and what are the tasks we are out to solve. I am sure everyone could take note of the great enthusiasm and heartfelt affection with which our people welcomed Comrade Khrushchov and the other Soviet guests. We are pleased that our Soviet comrades could get first-hand proof of our people's affection and friendship.

Those Western journalists who came to Hungary in quest of sensational headlines can now report that they have not come in vain. They could see with their own eyes how deeply and sincerely friendship with the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and Comrade Khrushchov is imbedded in the Hungarian people. They could see with their own eyes that we are in agreement, we are at one, we are fighting on one front with the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the course of our talks with the Soviet party and government delegation we exchanged mutual information on the achievements in our work of construction and on the obstacles to be overcome. We discussed the international situation, the problems of the international labour movement and also considered ways and means of further expanding our good relations in all spheres of life and of further consolidating our friendship. I am pleased to report to this meeting that our discussions have again been characterized by complete identity of views, full harmony and the closest friendship. This is also reflected in the joint communiqué which we have just signed.

Comrades,

All progressive people in the world, all true revolutionaries and Hungarian communists know what the Soviet Union means to mankind. The Soviet Union is the first country of the victorious proletarian revolution. Its people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the immortal Lenin, broke asunder the chains of imperialism; they have proved that the victory of the proletarian revolution and the practical implementation of Marx's teachings, the theory of scientific socialism, are possible. They have proved that socialism can be built in one country. The people of the Soviet Union, with untiring exertions and sacrifices, with revolutionary enthusiasm, established in place of former Tsarist Russia the first workers' and peasants' state and built the monumental structure of socialism.

For a long time the Soviet Union was the sole hope of the oppressed and exploited of the world, of all the working people, and was the basis of the world revolution. Today the Soviet Union is the strongest, the most powerful country, the leading force of the world socialist system, the present-day basis of the world revolution, and the mainstay of socialist revolution, social progress and peace.

The Soviet Union played a decisive role in giving an antifascist, democratic character to the Second World War, prepared by international imperialism and unleashed by the German fascists. This decisive role upset plans to replace the domination of one group of imperialists over many peoples of Europe by another group, to replace one oppression by another. This made it possible for a large number of peoples really to make use of their freedom, to take the path of socialism, and for the world socialist system to arise.

For almost half a century the Soviet Union has been clearing the road for progress, towards a better future, for mankind. She has beaten out the path of socialism for mankind, and is now proceeding on the road to building communism. With its achievements in the fields of construction, culture and science Soviet society has increasingly proved in practice its indisputable superiority over capitalism. This is testified by the rapid pace of industrial development. Soviet industrial output had increased 52-fold by 1963 as compared with 1913. During the first five years of the present Seven-Year Plan industrial production in the Soviet Union rose by 52 per cent. It is characteristic of the rapid pace

and the tremendous creative power of the socialist system that while per capita industrial output during the last ten years rose 128 per cent in the Soviet Union, in the United States the increase was only 15 per cent.

The Soviet Union is in the forefront in the most important science of our age—nuclear physics; it is ahead and has established indisputable superiority in the conquest of space and other branches of science. The Soviet Union sent the first man into space and carried out the first double space flight; Soviet men have made the longest flight in space, and a Soviet woman achieved the sensational and everlasting glory of becoming the first woman astronaut.

The Soviet Union is the mightiest military power in the world. All detachments of the struggle for social justice, progress and peace everyhwere rely upon this force. This fills the partisans of peace with hope, and gives the struggle for peace the prospects of success. All honour to Soviet man, to the Soviet people, because they have established, selflessly and at the cost of great sacrifices, that power in the service of mankind which is the foremost guardian of peace and deters the adventurers from war.

Comrades,

The assistance of the Soviet Union, our liberation made it possible for the Hungarian people to take the road to socialism. It became possible for our people to continue what they began with the Hungarian Republic of Councils of 1919, a people's power which was drenched in blood by armed imperialist intervention. Developments in our country, too, have by now amply proved the incontestable superiority of the socialist social order.

Under the conditions of capitalism, it would have been impossible, in a backward country like Hungary, to increase industrial production fivefold by 1963 as compared with 1938, and roughly to treble the national income during the same period. In a capitalist Hungary public culture and public education could not have progressed so that within twenty years the number of those graduating from secondary school go up two-and-a-half times, and the number of university and college graduates three times.

It would have been impossible for workers and employees to in-

crease their real income by 80 per cent since 1949, that is in fifteen years. This means in the long run that the average per capita income—wages and other remunerations such as old-age pensions, sickness benefits, scholarships, grants—is almost twice as high today as fifteen years ago. It would also have been impossible for the real value of the per capita consumption of the peasantry to go up during the same period by over 70 per cent.

During the years following Liberation our working class and people, under the leadership of the party, achieved victory in the struggle for power and began to advance by leaps and bounds on the road of socialist construction. However, there was a break in this momentum; the party's policies were distorted by dogmatism and sectarianism which undermined the unity of the party and the people, and this provided the ground for a counter-revolutionary uprising to be unleashed by the class enemy and the revisionist traitors, with the support of international imperialism. This caused very great and manifold damage, and plunged the country into a difficult situation. But our people, under the leadership of the party and with the assistance of the socialist countries, the international working class, and in the first place that of the Soviet Union, overcame all difficulties and scored a great victory over their enemies.

We can safely say that our development during the past seven years has been more rapid, healthier and smoother. We have been following a consistent Marxist-Leninist policy for seven and half years. We got rid of the personality cult, sectarianism and dogmatism, and will continue to reject and do away with all manifestations of leftism and pseudo-revolutionary demagogy. Our party has put an end, energetically and consistently, to rightist betrayal and will not permit anybody to put back by stealth, under any pretence, revisionist pollution into the party, and the bourgeois poison of anti-socialism into the country's life.

We will continue to use the methods of persuasion and patient argument when dealing with erroneous views and misunderstandings of our policies.

However, nobody has been and nobody will be permitted to commit, unpunished, any acts infringing the laws of our People's Republic. It is irrelevant what slogans are used in the attempt to justify such

acts. The counter-revolutionaries and revisionists of yesterday should not look forward to new opportunities in the discussion within the international labour movement. While fighting against dogmatism and sectarianism we will not allow any relaxation in the struggle against revisionism and bourgeois ideas.

Comrades,

Our party and people, following the victory in the struggle for power, have also achieved great successes in social advance during recent years. We have completed the socialist reorganization of agriculture ahead of schedule, and have laid the foundations of socialism, thus putting an end, once and for all, to the exploitation of man by man in our country; there are no more social classes which face each other in irreconcilable conflict. We have therefore the political and economic prerequisites for the establishment of a much higher type of unity, a socialist national unity by the Hungarian people; this would unite our entire people to put their shoulders to the wheels and work to the best of their strength, skill and ability for the cause of socialism.

A revolutionary in our country today is he who fully realizes that the cause of socialism, the continued strengthening of our system, calls, above all, as the Eighth Congress of our party clearly pointed out, for the proper solution of economic and cultural tasks, for the complete fulfilment of our economic plans and for the strengthening of our people's socialist consciousness and socialist public thinking. After having safeguarded and consolidated people's power and laid the foundations of socialism, this is the road to follow for the complete construction of a socialist society.

Comrades,

The Soviet Union has been assisting us in our construction work for almost two decades. Our parties, governments and peoples are bound together in the best of relations in all spheres. The Soviet Union is our most important trade partner. Soviet deliveries are decisive in ensuring undisturbed production in our country, which is poor in raw materials. We obtain from the Soviet Union 62 per cent of our cotton, 80 per cent of our iron ore, all our imported mineral oil and 75 per cent

of our sawn pine timber. There is no need to elaborate on what this means for our industry.

No special comment is needed on the fact that 60 per cent of Hungarian exports to the Soviet Union consists of engineering products, and over 18 per cent of light industrial finished products. The cooperation of our scientists and technical experts, which is becoming ever more planned and manysided, is to our advantage. Soviet-Hungarian cultural exchange is also of fundamental importance from the point of view of our people's cultural advance and the development of our socialist educational policies and practices. It is especially important that a lot more of our people learn more about each other and become good friends through the exchange of delegations and increasing tourism.

I can say in the name of our entire people that in our view Hungarian–Soviet friendship is sacred and everlasting. In our opinion nobody can call himself an internationalist who is opposed to, or turns against, the Soviet Union, the first victorious and pioneer country of the revolution, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the pioneering Leninist party. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the most experienced Communist Party, and the most steeled theoretically. The theoretical activity, Leninist courage and political flexibility of this party sets an example for the rest of the communist parties.

However, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is respected and honoured by communists and progressives not only because of its past but primarily because it continues as ever to represent the correct, Marxist–Leninist position. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has given the correct answer to the major problems of our epoch. This answer meets the requirements of the people, of socialism and peace. Our party's experiences fully bear out the correctness of the conclusions arrived at by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union fulfilled the inevitable tasks set by history when it courageously finished with the personality cult, sectarianism and dogmatism which were holding back the advance of the international labour movement and of the socialist revolution.

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union has given a new impetus to the development of Marxist–Leninist theory, a new power and mass attraction to communist policies, to the entire socialist camp and the international communist movement. The joint meetings of the communist and workers' parties held in Moscow also evaluated and stressed the tremendous international significance of the Twentieth Congress.

The entire international communist movement has undergone tremendous progress during the eight years which have elapsed since the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The number of parties has increased, and so has party membership; their influence on the masses has become greater, and a larger group of allies and sympathizers surrounds the parties. During these eight years, primarily as a result of the development in the Soviet Union, there has been a definite change in the relation of forces in favour of the forces of peace, independence and social progress. During these eight years the colonial system has fallen to pieces and a number of new, young, independent Asian and African countries have appeared in the international arena.

During the last eight years, owing to the victory of the Cuban revolution, the number of the countries belonging to the world socialist system rose to fourteen and socialism has reached not only Europe and Asia, but America as well. Social order became further consolidated in the socialist countries and the work of construction gained new impetus.

The Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Union has achieved brilliant successes, and has been borne out on innumerable occasions these last years. We have lived through extremely tense international situations time and again; imperialism wanted to provoke war repeatedly in many spots, yet peace has been safeguarded because the major foreign policy line of the socialist countries is correct, because we are stronger.

In our epoch the only alternative to nuclear world war is the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, peace, for the preservation of which all communists, all men of good will and all peoples must wage a fight. We, Hungarian communists, the millions of Hungarian working people, are for peace. We are fighting for peace side by side with all decent people in the world.

Only a consistent struggle for peace can unite all the anti-war,

anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly forces, all the revolutionary forces for national independence and socialism. Only thus, by following this path, can socialism triumph all over the world. He who does not pursue this policy is an anti-imperialist only in words.

How can someone label himself an anti-imperialist and communist if he slanders the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, if he is cunningly trying to drive a wedge between the Soviet people and their leaders; if he can only present the Soviet Union in a bad light and is splitting the unity of the international labour movement? There is neither explanation nor excuse for the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party who, making use of all means, are slandering the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist parties, are provoking splits in the international revolutionary labour movement and are unscrupulously interfering with the internal affairs of other socialist countries and communist parties.

It is clear to us that when the Chinese leaders attack the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Khrushchov and the other fraternal parties, they are taking a stand against the main line of the international communist movement elaborated at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. And the Chinese leaders must understand that our standpoint is identical with that of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchov; and together with them, with all fraternal parties and all Marxist-Leninists we will defend, safeguard and victoriously carry out the main line of the international communist movement, its Leninist policy.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian working class and the entire Hungarian people know only too well, from the experiences of the 1949–1956 period, what the personality cult, dogmatism and sectarianism mean, and they are opposed to them. Our party has overcome the personality cult and its consequences, and will never return to them.

The successful struggle against imperialism calls for the unity of the socialist world and of the international communist movement. We will do everything in order that the Chinese leaders should give up their splitting policies and restore their internationalist relations with the world's communist and workers' parties.

The imperialists would like to make use of the differences between the communist and workers' parties and the Chinese leaders. These differences are causing difficulties, but the imperialists cannot change the fact that there are fourteen socialist countries in the world, and the number of the socialist countries will not decline but increase. It is not accidental but a matter of course that ever more governments and peoples of liberated African countries are taking a stand for a non-capitalist road of social and economic development. The number of supporters of socialism is constantly rising in the capitalist countries.

We have our differences; but our class enemies, the imperialists, must realize that every communist party is against capitalism and imperialism, and is fighting for socialism. The international communist movement has waged a constant struggle against erroneous views and has come out on top. It has protected the ideas of Marxism-Leninism both against right-wing opportunism and revisionism, and against pseudo-leftist, petty-bourgeois adventurist views, the distortions of the personality cult, dogmatism and sectarianism. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism will again triumph over the dogmatic and sectarian views of the Chinese leaders. While fighting against erroneous views we will not overlook imperialism, the main enemy, nor the everyday tasks of socialist construction.

We must carry on our consistent struggle for peace. We must fight for general and complete disarmament, for the complete banning of nuclear weapons. We must wage a struggle for the setting up of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, including the most dangerous spot, Central Europe. We are struggling for the conclusion of a peace treaty, in accordance with political realities, with both German states.

We fight for the complete and final abolition of the colonial system and express our sympathy with all peoples who are engaged in a struggle with their oppressors and exploiters, the imperialists. The imperialists should realize that the days are gone when they could arbitrarily determine the destinies of peoples and continents. They must bow to the peoples' determination to become masters of their own destinies; nothing can prevent them from achieving this goal.

Our party, government and people are for peaceful coexistence in the sense that we are not only going to safeguard our socialist system

and socialist achievements in all spheres and against everybody, but we will unceasingly develop and strengthen them.

Moreover, we are striving to maintain normal political, economic and cultural relations with every country which acknowledges the existence of the Hungarian People's Republic as it is, respects its state sovereignty, and affords it all the honours due to a sovereign state. As peace is in the interest of all peoples we feel that every state is under an obligation to contribute to the establishment of the pre-requisites of peaceful coexistence.

There are disputed international problems, and will continue to be in the future, but they can and must be solved through negotiations. The government of the Hungarian People's Republic is ready to contribute to the solution of questions under dispute, just as it is ready to take any positive steps which will be conductive to peace and international *rapprochement*, and are mutually beneficial for all peoples.

We believe that the present Geneva conference on world trade will contribute to peace and to the prosperity of the peoples if every participant takes a stand against trade embargoes, restrictions and discriminations and strives to turn trade from a cold war weapon into a means of establishing confidence and healthy relations among peoples.

We need peace to be able to build. Every people needs peace, because nobody wants to perish in a nuclear war and to have generations live a wretched and crippled life in an atmosphere poisoned by atomic and hydrogen explosions. He who does not fight for this is afraid of peace, either because of a dread of socialism and its peaceful attainment or because of a lack of confidence in the strength of socialism, in the success of peaceful construction.

We have confidence in our strength. We have confidence in mankind. We have faith in the strength and invincibility of the world socialist system. We place trust in our peoples and ourselves, in Hungarian-Soviet friendship, in the friendship of the socialist countries. We acknowledge that the friendship and unity of the socialist countries is the chief guarantee of peace.

The visit of the Soviet party and government delegation headed by Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov—and we can state this with full conviction—has further consolidated and deepened the friend-

ship of our peoples, parties and governments. We believe that by our agreement on a number of important questions, as expressed during our talks and in the joint communiqué, we have done a service to our peoples and to the cause of peace and socialism in general.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian people will continue to march unswervingly forward on the present road, the road of building a socialist society. It is an inspiration and a source of strength to us to know that we are marching ahead on our road, shoulder to shoulder, and are fighting side by side with our Soviet brothers, with the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union. We are extremely happy and proud to have on our side, in this common struggle for common objectives, the outstanding son of the Soviet people, the unflinching fighter for communism and peace, our comrade and true friend, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov.

Long live the great Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Khrushchov!

Long live the mighty Soviet people, building communism, and the Hungarian people, building socialism!

Long live everlasting Hungarian-Soviet friendship!

Long live and victory to socialism and peace all over the world!

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Arrow-cross men—Members of a Hungarian political organization who professed the views and copied the methods of Hitlerite fascism

Bethlen, István, Count (1874–1946)—From 1921 to 1931 prime minister of Hungary; helped to realize a certain degree of stabilization in the early period of the Horthyite counter-revolutionary era

Dózsa, György (?–1514)—Leader of the 1514 peasant revolt in Hungary

forint—The monetary unit of Hungary since 1946

hold—Hungarian unit of land measure; 1 *hold* = 1,42 acres

Hungarian Republic of Councils—From March 21 to August 1, 1919; the state organization of the first proletarian revolution in Hungary

John's Day—Traditional holiday of printers in Central Europe in honour of J. Gutenberg

József, Attila (1905–1937)—Proletarian poet, one of the greatest figures of Hungarian lyric poetry

Kossuth, Lajos (1802–1894)—The leading figure of the struggle for national independence and the basic freedoms waged in Hungary in the nineteenth century

Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme—A play by Molière

Ludovika Academy—Military academy for the training of Hungarian army officers in the period up to 1945

Móricz, Zsigmond (1879–1942)—Writer, the greatest representative of critical realism in Hungarian literature

pengő—The monetary unit of Hungary from 1927 to 1946

quintal (abbr. q)—Hungarian unit of weight measure; 1 q = 2 cwt.

Rákóczi, Ferenc, II (1676–1735)—Prince of Hungary and Transylvania, leadre of the freedom struggle against Hapsburg rule between 1703 and 1711

Tisza, István, Count (1861—1918)—A leading Hungarian politician in the period preceding the First World War, a most characteristic representative of reaction in Hungary

Young Pioneers—Members of a voluntary children's organization (8 to 14 years) under the guidance of the Communist Youth Union